

*Friendly Advice*  
TO THE  
Gentlemen-Planters  
OF THE  
East and West  
INDIES

In Three Parts.

A brief Treatise of the most principal Fruits and Herbs that grow in the *East & West Indies* giving an Account of their respective Vertues both for *Food* and *Physick*, and what Planet and Sign they are under. Together with some Directions for the Preservation of Health and Life in those hot Climates.

I. The Complaints of the Negro-Slaves against the hard Usages and barbarous Cruelties inflicted upon them.

II. A Discourse in way of Dialogue, between an *Ethiopian* or *Negro-Slave*, and a *Christian* that was his Master in *America*.

By *Philotheos Phylologus*.

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General Principles  
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A full knowledge of the most principal principles  
of the system of the S.A.T.H.A.S. is necessary  
to the understanding of their respective virtues  
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A Brief

## TREATISE

Of the Principal

Fruits and Herbs

That grow in

Barbadoes, Jamaica,

And other Plantations in the  
*West-Indies.*

The First Part.

**T**His short discourse of the Qualities of the *Fruits* which that gallant Island of *Barbadoes* yields, I thought would not be improper, as well for that I do not know at any has hitherto distinctly spoken thereof, as also because they being for

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the most part the same with those produced, not only in the Western Plantations, but also in *Guinea*, the *East-Indies*, and most hot Countries, one and the same pains will serve to describe the Properties of them all; or at least to give such a general Philosophical Account, that whatever you meet with in those Reigons neighbouring to the Sun's more near and direct Beams, you may be well able by this Specimen, and from the Form, Taste, Colour, Smell and Signature of each Vegetable, to understand its Nature, Use and Operation.

In the first place, we must in general observe, that all Fruits in hot Climates are better, as being as by Nature prepared to an higher degree of Maturity, than in Cold; for the Sun making his nearer visits with auspicious Beams, and an innocent and complemental Warmth both better disposes the Earth's teeming Womb, and by a most excellent Chymistry, refines the ripening Fruits from their gross dull phlegmatick

matick Juices ; Winter, Snows, Frosts and other Excesses, are there only remembered and talkt of, not known ; and that Sol's too ardent kisses may not be offensive, Nature provides always delicate cooling Briezes and refreshing Gales of Wind, which not only relieve the Inhabitants from the ill effects of an excessive Heat, but much conduce to the melioration of the Fruits. Which being thus brought to its full and absolute perfection, before gathered, may much safer be eaten in those warm Countries, than in Cold, where they have not Sun enough to digest their Rawness into a Temperature so fit for Food. And as it is not fit for Man or Beast to labour so much and so hard in hot Regions, as in cold ; therefore the wise Creator has by his Hand-maid Nature given them food prepared to their hands, that they might have no such need of Toiling, there being there no Winter to consume what Summer brings forth, but a continued Spring or perpetual Harvest

of most excellent and never-failing Vegetations some of the chief of which we shall proceed to speak of in particular.

### Of Pine Apples.

**T**His incomparable *Fruit* deservedly claims precedence for its delicacy and excellency; for when full Ripe, its Taste is so exquisitely delightful and pleasant, that it seems to exceed all others that the Earth produces; whence 'tis reported, that when some of them, by great care, and the favour of a speedy Voyage, were brought into *England*, (for very rarely can they be preserv'd so long) and presented to *King James*, he was so ravish'd with its charming deliciousness, that he said *It was not fit to be tasted by a Subject, but only proper to Regale the Gusto of Princes inured to the highest Delicacies.* The four grand Qualities, whence all perfect Tastes do proceed, viz. the *Astringent* or *Saltish*, the *Bitter*, the *Sour*

and the *Sour* are herein so equally mixt and compounded by Gods Hand-maid (Nature) that tis hard to distinguish which of them does predominate; but the truth is, the most delightful Moderator and King of all Tastes, *viz.* the *Sweet* doth a little exceed all the other three, so that there is nothing appears but an inviting Beauty, delightful Redolency, and ravishing Taste, that feasts, in the highest degree, all those Senses at once.

For it must be noted, That all the various and numberless Tastes of things, both in the *Animal, Vegetable,* and *Mineral Kingdoms* do all proceed and arise from the four grand Qualities aforesaid, (as large described in my *Way to Health,* and *The Good House-wife made a Doctor, &c.*) so that there are but four perfect Tastes, they being the Radix of all others, as the seven Notes are the Basis or Foundation of all Musical Harmony; and according to the Equality of those four, or the weakness or predominancy of each, such a

Taste does carry the upper dominion in all things, and accordingly is the same more or less grateful to the Pallate and Stomach, and homogeneal to the Body.

But though our Pines are one of the best sorts of Fruits in the world, they stand the Inhabitants of those parts, and the Eaters of them, but in very little stead, being by our English chiefly eaten after or betwixt Meals, to pleasure wanton Appetite and depraved Senses; for which cause their genuine nature and operation is hardly known to those that devour the most of them; however, their excellent Taste, pleasant Smell, and curious Shapes do declare their noble Vertues, being either eaten alone, or with Bread on a well prepared Stomach; for they moderate, cool, comfort and refresh the Spirits, cleanse the Passages, remove Obstructions that sur the Pipes, and also purge away and help to digest all slimy and Sharp Juices that offend Nature, being light of Concoction, and if eaten full  
Ripe,

Ripe, on an empty stomach, it powerfully purgeth by Urine.

It makes a good breakfast or supper with the help of Bread, it being clean and easie, that the natural Heat can easily overcome and digest it at pleasure, and Bread does dry up the humidity of the Fruit, and renders the Nourishment more firm. But note likewise, that this rare Fruit is only good *Raw* (as we usually, but improperly call it) that without any other Preparation, than what Nature, and the Sun's digestive Heat gives it; and entire and alone (except only a little Bread eat with it) it is so compleat, that it will not admit of any alteration or composition, since they cannot add to its Vertues, or raise Nature to an higher degree, as in many other things may be done; but here, whatever humane Art is used, or things intermixt, it is still for the worse, because Nature (the Art of God) has already cook't it to the sublimest Perfection, it being the best and most fragrant



Fruit the *West-Indies* do bring forth, most wholsom and healthy to be eaten now and then, *viz.* two or three times a week to make a Meal or part of a Meal with it; for the God of Eternal Wisdom hath appointed all things to be used with Sobriety, Temperance and Order, for which end he hath given all these brave comforts unto the Sons of men: This is a Fruit highly dignified with Cœlestial Energy, being under the *Sun* and *Venus*, in the Sign *Leo*.

### Of Plantains.

**T**His is a brave noble Fruit, pleasant and grateful to the Senses, if not gathered till full ripen'd on the Trees, they afford a Nourishment of a middle nature, but not so quick nor brisk on the Pallate and Stomach, nor so easie of Concoction as *Pines*, because in these the *Lunar* Property does predominate, and the four Qualities or Tastes are not so equaliz'd; yet it must be



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be acknowledged a good and wholesome  
Fruit, especially for such as live easily,  
and work but little ; for hard La-  
bourers ought to have food that affords  
a Nourishment more firm and substan-  
tial ; and therefore such should eat  
Bread, or some other dry Food with  
them.

It is a general custom to gather them  
before they are ripe, and let them ripen  
off the Trees, which is both contrary  
to Reason and Nature ; for thereby the  
purer brisk spirituous parts are as it  
were totally destroyed ; so that the  
true lively Vertues and Sweetness be-  
come of a dull heavy nauseous and un-  
pleasant Taste, and harder of Con-  
coction, affording a much worse Nou-  
rishment. Nor is this Fruit good be-  
ing any way prepar'd as by Art, tho' it  
be customary for many to make Tarts  
with them, and compound them with  
several Ingredients, which is not com-  
mendable ; for Nature has already  
advanced them to the highest degree,  
provided you let them alone long  
enough,

enough, *viz.* till they are full Ripe and all alteration then is for the worse and not for the better. *But the Women must be doing something, though it be Mischief, as Mother Eve has given them an Example.*

But if when 'tis full Ripe it be eaten temperately, either alone, or rather with some Bread, it is wholesome and profitable to Nature; but be advised not to eat them in wantonness on full Stomachs, or between Meals, as the custom of the English is, but not without great prejudice to Nature; for they are naturally a little dull and heavy, and therefore they require a brisk Appetite and well prepared Stomach, and store of heat to concoct them. This Fruit is under the dominion of the *Moon*, and the Sign *Pisces*; as to heat they are moderate, *viz.* rather cooling than hot; when full ripe they gently open Obstructions of the breast, being eaten with Bread in a Morning; but unripe they are binding, and if baked with Sugar, Spices

and the like, lose their natural operation, and thereby become hot, and apt to obstruct the Passages, and tire the Appetite and Stomach, generate evil Juices, dull Spirits and thicken Blood, and therefore so prepared are no commendable Food.

### Of Bonnanoes.

**I**T is a Fruit much of the nature with *Plantains*, but somewhat sweeter, or more Venereal, and easier of Concoction, very pleasant and delightful to the Pallate, Stomach, and Senses, Nature having likewise prepared this to the height, so that whatever alteration *Mrs. Housewife* makes, proves improper and hurtful; the best way of eating them is like the rest before, either alone or with Bread; and so they cleanse, open and remove Obstructions, gently loosen the Belly, being of a middle Quality, neither hot nor cold in Excess; a Meal of them now and then will be not only grateful, but also

also healthful; but if they are eaten green, or ripned off the Trees, then their nature and operations will be altogether contrary, and have many ill effects; for before Fruits arrive to their full Maturity, the *Astringent*, *Bitter* and *Sour Qualities* do too violently predominate, and all such things must therefore prove hurtful to the Body; whereas when full ripe, the sweet balsamiak and pure spirituous Qualities do tincture the *Saturnine* and *Martial Properties*, and as it were captivate their poysonous fierce hot Natures, that they can scarce be felt or tasted, the powers and vertues of *Saturn* and *Venus* being become more strong. Besides, ripening of Fruits off from the Trees is unnatural, and opposeth her method in the highest degree, as before declared.

### Of Cocoe-Nuts.

**T**He Kernels of this Fruit are full strong sweet and delight

Taste to the Pallate and Stomach, but apt to stop and sur the Passages, if eaten alone, or in Quantities. &ut on the contrary, if Order and Temperance be observed, it makes a brave sublime Food, very profitable for all Ages and Constitutions, affording a clean pure Nourishment, easie of Digestion, breeds good Blood, and pure fine brisk Spirits. Besides, this Fruit contains a thin or milky Substance, of a Cordial nature, if eaten with some dry Food, as Bread, and the like. But neither this nor the Kernal is not to be eaten alone on full Stomachs, or between Meals, as English People are apt to do in all places where they come, accounting nothing food but *Flesh* and *Fish*; whereas *Herbs*, *Seeds*, *Fruits* and *Grains* do far transcend them, as to brave firm substantial Nourishment, as I have else-where in several Treatises demonstrated, viz. in my *Way to Health, long Life and Happiness*,---The good *Houswife made a Doctor*, &c. These *Cocoe-Fruits* are under the *Sun* and

and *Venus*, and the Cœlestial sign *Libra*, but its outward shell or covering is *Martial* and *Saturnine*.

### Of Gnobars.

**T**His Fruit is under the dominion of the *Moon* and *Mars*, and the sign *Scorpio*; it hath its harsh Taste from *Mars*, its Sweetness from the *Moon*. If eaten unripe or green, then it binds the belly, but when full ripe, it is a good wholsom pleasant Fruit, may be eaten raw at Meals with bread and other food, as Milk, or the like: They are of a moderate cooling opening Quality; but there are two sorts, one that are white within, and the other Red, which last are the best of the two.

### Of Sour-Sopps.

**T**His is a good Fruit, agreeable to the Stomach if full ripe, and it lie not too long after it be gathered before

before it be eaten ; it is endued with a grateful pleasant Taste, very easie of Concoction, if eaten moderately, especially with Bread, or some other dry food ; if a Meal be so made now and then, it will prove very profitable to the breast, by cleansing and removing Obstructions that lie in those Passages ; it also moderately cools and allays Drought, and gently loosens the belly, and if a Glass of White-Wine, allay'd with Water, be drank after it, or other proper Liquor, it will bravely cleanse the passages of the Uriters, and cause plentiful evacuation of Urine ; but if they lie too long after gathering, before you use them, much of the good Qualities and natural Vertues will be abated, and it will be apt to have a contrary operation ; it is cold in Quality, and therefore proves most profitable to the *Chollerick* and *Sanguine Complexions*, but not so good for *Ph'egmatick Bodies*. *Mercury* and the *Moon* have dominion over it, and it is to be attributed to the sign *Taurus*.

*Pickle*



## Of Duckl:-Pears.

**T**His is a pleasant delightful Fruit very grateful to Nature, and may with safety be eaten both in health and sickness, being easie of concoction, it quickly passeth away, digesting and moving the Obstructions that offend the Passages, if eaten on an empty Stomach, either alone or with Bread, or some other food, it is moderately cooling, and good against the Stone and Gravel, if eaten alone in a Morning when fasting, and a glass of White-Wine, allay'd with Water (*viz.* one third part Wine and two Water) drank after it. *Mercury* governs it, and the Sign *Aries*. But neither this nor any other fruit ought to be eaten in wantonness, nor for state or vain pleasure, as between Meals and after Dinner, our Creator never intending them for such uses, but for the support and health of mankind, and those that abuse them otherwise, commit a very great



great Evil, of which they ought to Repent, and forsake all such superfluities.

### Of Papaes.

**T**his is an innocent, yet noble Fruit, of little Taste taken as it grows, and that which it hath not very delightful; but it hath a wonderful, and as it were, Paradisical and most ravishing Vertue that internally lies hid, which being awakned and raised up by the skill of the good Housewife, and proper Ingredients, it makes various sorts of most delightful food, but more especially *Pyes* or *Tarts*, there being no other fruit in the West-Indies (nor perhaps else-where in the world) comparable for that purpose; for it hath no manifest Taste or Quality that does too manifestly predominate, (as most other fruits have, that are used for such foods) and thereby it is capable of being raised to what degree of taste or pleasantness the Cook or

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good

good Houfewife pleafes, by mixing and adding proper Ingredients, which cannot be done with any fruits or things wherein any of the four Qualities do too violently over-rule; for fuch things as are unequal in their Properties or Qualifyings, or where unripe things are joynd with ripe, can very rarely be altered for the better. This fruit being founparrallel'd a thing for the ufe aforefaid, the *good Dames* of the Western Plantations have no reafon to defire or long after other improper Fruits or Mixtures; for this being aptly prepared and made into Tarts, may yield the nicest Pallates moft ample fatisfaction: It is under the dominion of the *Moon* and *Venus*, in the fign *Taurus*, but the *Moon* predominating in its governance, hides the pleafant Qualities of *Venus*; but when other Ingredients are mixt with it, then the fleeping or captivated Vertues of *Venus* appear in their fplendor or ravifhing Taftes: They are of a cooling opening Nature and Operation of them.

themselves, but when mixed, are varied according to the nature of the Ingredients. I know no other fruit in the West-Indies that can be altered to so good advantage as this. And as the *Pine-Apple* is the King of all Fruits to be eaten Raw; so on the other side, this is the best and properest to be used in variation or further prepared.

### Of water Melons.

**T**His is a most delicious *Fruit*, very pleasant and delightful both to sickly and healthy People; if eaten moderately 'tis very profitable for hot Chollerick Complexions, and such as are subject to be feaverish, or fumes flying into their Heads; 'tis of a cooling cleansing Property, easie of Concoction, and dis-burthens the Passages of all gross offensive Matter, if eaten fasting in a Morning with a little Bread; also, it powerfully cleanseth the Reins and Melancholly, purges by Urine, and therefore the frequent use

of them moderates the astringent  
harsh Quality in such Constitutions as  
are liable to the *Stone* and *Gravel*, for  
which it is one of the best Remedies  
in the World. But if you mix *Sugar*,  
*Wine*, or the like Ingredients, then  
you cannot perceive nor feel its ge-  
nuine vertue or operation; for thereby  
its nature and effects are changed, just  
as a Painter does alter one Colour into  
another, by adding other Colours,  
which ought seriously to be consider-  
ed by all Compounders of food or Me-  
dicines, and the natural Reason to be  
well understood. This fruit is under  
the *Moon* and *Venus* (but *Luna* hath  
the greatest share in Government) in  
the sign *Libra*, whence it is that they  
gallantly purge by Urine. There are  
two sorts, Red and White, but the Red  
are the best.

### Of Musk-Melons.

There are two sorts of these, one  
about as big as our ordinary  
Pum-

Pumkins, the other smaller, not  
 bigger than those in England;  
 two, this last sort are the best, though  
 the other are very good in the  
 and to be preferred before our  
 Northren Climate produces. The best  
 way of eating them is with Salt and  
 Bread, which renders them more  
 warming and grateful to the Stomach;  
 nor do they gripe, except it be for want  
 of the bodies being used to them. They  
 gently loosen the belly, and moderately  
 purge by Urine, if eaten for a breakfast  
 with a glass or two of White-Wine, or  
 White-Wine and Water mixt, or plain  
 Water drank after them: They may  
 be eaten by all Ages and Constitutions,  
 but are best for young People, and espe-  
 cially for Chollerick hot Complexions;  
 for they allay drought, and gently cool  
 the whole body, but they may not be  
 often eaten as food, because they af-  
 ford not so firm a Nourishment, but  
 between whiles it will be very profit-  
 able to make a whole Meal of them  
 now & then with only Bread and Salt.

## Of Pumpkins.

**P**umpkins that grow in the *West-Indies*, are much of the nature of those we have here with us in *England*, but not altogether so cold, being brought to an higher degree of Maturity by the powerful Influences of the Sun-beams, who caress them with nearer Embraces; yet still, this Fruit is of a cold phlegmatick Nature, but eaten stew'd with warming Ingredients, makes an indifferent good food, taking store of Bread therewith, its Nourishment is not firm, but easie of concoction, loosens the belly, is not proper for cold phlegmatick Complexions, but very profitable to be used now and then by the Chollerick: It also gently purgeth by Urine, as indeed most of the fruits in the *West-Indies* do; and 'tis a great Error in our Northern People, settled in those parts especially such as are obnoxious to the *Stone, Gravel*, and the like, that they

do not accustom themselves more to the use of those noble fruits; for if they did, they would not be so subject to those torturing Diseases as they are; for all foods, be they fruits or other things, and also Drinks, that moderately cool the body, and are of light concoction, do naturally prevent the generation of those cruel Diseases; as on the other side, such as heat, and are of an astringent nature, do generate them in all Complexions, but especially in those that are inclinable thereunto. The Coelestial Regiment of this fruit is to be attributed to the *Moon*, and to the sign *Pisces*.

### Of Squashes.

**T**Hese are of a mild gentle nature and operation, being briskly boyled and eaten with *Bread*, *Butter*, *Vinegar* and *Salt*; they afford a good Nourishment, but not very firm, cool the body, and are quick of Concoction; cleanse the Passages, are good against



the Obstructions of the breast, gently loosen the belly and purge by urine especially if a whole Meal be made of them without flesh, and only eaten as aforesaid. They are under the dominion of the *Moon* and *Cancer*.

### Of Potato's.

**T**His is a very brave noble and more excellent Root than any other the *West-Indies* bring forth, of a friendly temperate Quality, somewhat windy if eaten hot, or whilst the fiery Atomes or Vapours be in it: therefore they are far better and wholesomer cold, as many other of the like nature are: They afford a brave firm substantial Nourishment, surpassing therein all other Roots, but not comparative to that of *Bread*; they are Restorative, of a most pleasant Taste, comfort and strengthen the body, of a warming nature and operation; so that they are a good food eaten alone or with *Bread, Butter, Flesh*, or the like. The



The common ways of preparing or dressing them are divers, but the most common are Stewing, and Roasting them in the Embers, the last of which is most commendable, but being more tedious than the other, is not so frequently practised: either way they make a good Dish, being eaten when through cold with *Oyl*, *Vinegar*, *Salt* and *Bread*, or *Butter* instead of *Oyl*, to such as do not love it, or cannot procure it. As to Temperature they are of a middle Nature, but rather warm than cold, easie of Concoction, and the drier they are prepar'd, the warmer and firmer Nourishment they yield.

Likewise, they make a good sort of Drink, but it will not admit of much age, being apt then to become acid, sharp and keen; it may be made either stronger or smaller, according to the Quantity of *Potato's* allowed, and Water put to them. There are various sorts, but the driest and yellowest are best. They are under *Sol*, in the sign *Taurus*. The young and tender  
Leaves

Leaves are a pretty good Sallet boyld, they cleanse the stomach and loosen the belly; being eaten with *Butter*, *Vinegar*, *Salt* and *Bread*, a fine Meal may be made of them.

### Of Pans.

**T**His also is an excellent Root, temperately hot, and more dry than moist, of a lovely white Colour, and pleasant innocent Taste, which demonstrates their good Vertues; they afford an harmlesse, clean, and yet pretty substantial Nourishment, neither much bind nor relax the belly, but of the two, rather loosen. They are easie of Concoction, and if they be well prepared according to Art make a brave friendly pleasant food drest with *Butter*, *Vinegar* and *Salt*, and eaten with *Bread*: They are good for every Age and Constitution, rarely disagreeing with any; they are very useful to be eaten with *Flesh*, a little *Flesh* and good store of *Yams*. The  
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are under the government of *Venus*  
and *Luna*, and the sign *Libra*.

### Of Cusado-Bread.

**T**His *Bread* is of an innocent nature and operation, yet affords a strong substantial Nourishment, far beyond what most People suppose; for being put into any kind of Pottage, Milk, or the like; it dissolves its self into gellious substance, which is a token of its strength, as its pure white Colour and innocent Taste demonstrates its innate Vertues and Equality of Parts: The four grand Qualities (at large described in my other Treatises) whence the four perfect Tastes do proceed, being so equally mixt, that by its Taste it can hardly be distinguished which does carry the upper dominion, under which simplicity lies hid the most soveraign Vertues of Nature; it is most pleasant when new, but not then the wholsomest; 'tis a good Ingredient to be eaten with  
*Batter,*

*Butter, Cheese, Herbs, Milk, or any kind of Pottages, as also with Flesh, and will alone sustain Nature; for a man may live as long without being tyred, and be as well supported, as to health and strength, with it, as with the best Wheaten Bread; and being once familiariz'd through a little custom and use, it becomes pleasant to most Ages and Constitutions. I remember a Master of a Ship, that assured me, That being by stress of Weather kept out at Sea much longer than they expected, so that all their Provisions were spent, but Water and Cusado Bread, of which they had plenty; he and his Ships Crew lived thereon for many days, without any other Sustainance; and though at first (being used to variety of other Foods,) they thought it some-what hard, yet after some days it became most pleasing; and they were so far from complaining of their strength being diminished, that they found themselves more than ordinary brisk and active. As for the Temperature of this Bread, it is rather hot than cold.*

old, and is of easie concoction; 'tis  
under the government of *Saturn* and  
*Venus*, in the sign *Scorpio*. Its poyson-  
ous Liquor which is pressed out of the  
Root when it is made into Bread, is  
*Saturnine*, and the white flowery sub-  
stance or matter, is *Venerreal*: Nor is  
it strange to those that understand  
Nature's course, that Poyson and  
most wholsom Food should proceed  
from one and the same Vegetable di-  
versly prepared; for such do know  
that in all things, (as well as in this)  
there are lurking Poysons that are the  
Root of every Life, and without  
which there could be neither Vitality  
nor Vegetation.

### Of Ginger.

**T**His is an excellent Spice, of an  
hot dry tart Nature, endued  
with a stronger and more durable heat  
than *Pepper*, and every way more  
efficacious, so that where-ever this  
Spice is, there is no need of *Pepper*;  
it

it is chiefly good for cold and moist  
 Stomachs, and such as are troubled  
 with cold windy Diseases; for it dis-  
 cusseth and helpeth Digestion, and in  
 some degree consume the crude phleg-  
 matick Humors; good especially for  
 aged People in cold and moist Season  
 of the year. But neither this sort of  
 Spice, nor any other, is good to be used  
 in hot Seasons or Climates, except  
 a Physical way, as I have else-where  
 demonstrated. Particularly, in *Thin*  
*People* and *Chollerick Complexions* the  
 frequent use of such things does heat  
 dry and consume the purer Spirits and  
 Radical Moisture, and inflame the  
 Blood, and in some Constitution  
 makes it sharp and keen; they are  
 also injurious to the natural Heat  
 of the Stomach and digestive Faculty  
 whence the *Scurvey*, *Joint-Aches*, and  
 many cruel Distempers proceed, and  
 assist not a little to the generation  
 of the *Stone*, where-ever they meet  
 matter for that purpose. The same  
 is to be understood of all other things

in which heat and driness do too violently predominate; the frequent use of which is like the common drinking of *Brandy*; when once the Stomach is accustomed to them, it cannot digest its food without them; and yet the Remedy is as bad as the Disease, for as the natural heat is more debilitated, so more *Brandy* is craved for, till People utterly destroy themselves.

### Of Oranges.

There being various sorts of this Fruit, differing in their Temperature and Nature, they are to be considered according to the sweetness, sourness and tartness of them; the sowrest sort are the coldest, most sharp and penetrating, and therefore are not so good and profitable as those called *Sevil*, which is a mean between the sour and the sweet, and therefore is best for sawce, and far more acceptable to the Pallate, but especially to the Stomach, than either the sweet or the  
sour



sowr, which being full ripe fresh gathered, do not only make the best Sawces to most sorts of Food, as *Herbs* both raw and boyled, *Flesh*, &c. far exceeding all Vinegars made with Wine or other Liquors, but they also prove profitable in many Diseases especially to allay Drought in *Feavers* and prevent the putrification of the Humors; for they cool and refresh the Stomach, and are good moderately used in times of Health for *Chollick* *People*; but eat them not too frequently, for they astringe or bind the belly, and are not proper for *Phlegmatick* or *Melancholly Complexions*; and as the moderate use of them for Sawce in food, does excite and sharpen the Appetite, so on the contrary the frequent custom of eating them is apt to hurt the digestive Faculty by their cold dry astringent Qualities, they being Extreames in Nature, and therefore cautiously to be used.

The *Sweet Oranges* are not good for Sawce, for they naturally dull or subvert



subvert the Appetite; nevertheless they being of a middle Nature or temperate Quality, are good and very grateful to well-prepared Stomachs to be eaten alone, or with some Bread or other dry food after them in time of Health, especially for Young People, and the *Phlegmatick* and *Melancholly*; but still they ought to remember their sure friend *Temperance*, else they will prove injurious, and hinder Concoction.

### Of Lemmons.

AS these are sharper and more sour than *Oranges*, so they are colder, more keen or piercing, but they make a Sawce that does wonderfully cool, and for the present stir up the Appetite, comfort the Stomach, and are good against Vomiting, very grateful to such as have weak dull or flat Stomachs, they cut and attenuate gross Humors, allay Thirst, and are refreshing to such as have hot Livers; but on

the other side, if not very moderately used, their astringent, sharp or keen Quality will by simile awaken the *Saturnal* and *Martial Fires* in the Body, and instead of allaying heat they inflame the Blood, and irritate the natural Spirits, which proves fatal as to Health ; for as all such Fruits are unequal in their parts, so they by sympathy cause an unequal operation in the Humors, which is the Radix of all Distemperatures.

### Of Limes.

**L**imes are an Immature Fruit, in which two extream Properties do predominate, viz. the *Saturnal* and *Martial Poisons*, because the Sun and Cœlestial Influences, have not had Power to raise or awaken the balsamick or friendly Vertues of Nature, or bring the Properties into an equal operation, as is done in other Fruits ; for these two fierce Qualities are so powerful, as indeed being the very  
Radix

Radix of the Fruit, that the friendly Property or good Vertue is wholly hid or captivated by them, so that it cannot be tasted or felt; hence the Juice of this fruit does contain (as I have elsewhere declared) a *Saturnine* churlish fire, which is of an hard coagulating astringent or binding nature and operation, like the raw cold saturnine Air of Winter, which does congeal the Water, and harden all things. 2dly, A sharp keen Martial Property, of a sour harsh fretting nature and operation. Now these two Extreams meeting together, do render it very hurtful to the genuine nature of the Stomach, and generate bad Blood, stir up the original Poysons by simile, and the Saturnine Property does draw together and congeal the Excrements in the Bowels; and the Martial Fires are forth-driving, and cannot endure to be bounded, from whence proceed various Diseases, as *Gripes, Collicks, Illiacal Passions*, or cruel *Belly-Akes*.

For this cause, our English, and

others, that use these Juices in their Voyages to the *East-Indies*, and other parts, are sorely vexed with many Diseases, which they contract (though they little think it) from their *Punch-Bowls*, rather than the disagreeableness of the Climate. Moreover the sharp cold Juices of *Oranges* and *Lemons*, which in hot Countries they are greedy of, and do eat too freely, do prove very pernicious as to their Health; for the truth is, it is not the Climate, whether hot or cold, that causes so many Diseases, but Peoples Intemperances and taking wrong Measures; for the Natives both of the *East*, *South* and *West* are as healthy and long liv'd as those of the *North*; and these our frequent Distempers when we travel into those parts, do but declare our Intemperances, and that the Meats and Drinks we so much desire are not proper for our Bodies in such Climates, where not our own irregular Fancies, but the usages of the Natives of each Country ought to be our Guides and Examples,

Examples, both as to Meats, Drinks  
and Exercises and then each Country  
would soon become as natural and  
wholsom to us as our own, our Bodies  
being assimulated thereunto.

### Of Dillpillow-Bears.

**T**His is a Fruit that is not much in  
use, being some-what trouble-  
som to procure by reason of their  
Martial Weapons or Prickles; they are  
of a *sharp brisk Taste*, their Juices quick  
and penetrating, they cut Phlegm,  
beget Appetite and help Conoction,  
being of a cooling Nature, they may  
be eaten with a little Sugar with safety,  
but they are chiefly good for *Chollerick*  
and *Sanguine People*, and are under  
*Mars in Aries*.

### Of Pepper, commonly called Guinea-Pepper.

**O**F this there are two sorts, one  
great the other small; but both

( 32 )  
are much of the same nature and operation, only the smallest is rather the hottest. They both contain three extream Qualities, viz. 1. An astringent Sulpher, or stupifying Poyson from *Saturn*; 2. A fierce bitter keen sharpness from *Mars*; And 3. An hot penetrating Poyson from *Mercury*.

In this Vegetation all friendliness and pure Vertues are captivated, and the original forms of Nature do predominate, there being in it no kind of Equality or Harmony, but all is out of Tune, and the four *grand Qualities*, whence all Tastes proceed, have here their operations in Discord, and confusedly combate one another; therefore whatever any may pretend, the frequent eating of it must needs prove pernicious to Health; for those fore-mentioned fierce poysonous Qualities do by degrees as it were insensibly prey upon and violate the natural Heat, and hinders the way of the Spirits, as if men designed to mortifie their natural Legs, on purpose to use Wooden ones

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or Crutches; so they destroy the genuine innate heat of their Stomachs, and vainly endeavour to procure a false and adventitious one, that may better (forsooth) supply Nature. The truth is, this hot fiery Sawce does powerfully stir up or beget Appetite, and warms the Stomach, which does intice many to eat it with their common food, but they never consider the mischiefs it brings unto Health, being like *Brandy*, a dram of which after a full Meal of heavy Victuals, will help Concoction, and ease the burthened Stomach, but the frequent use of it will so destroy the natural Heat, that the Stomach will not be able, after a little time, to digest its food, neither with it nor without it: So this Spice being too much eaten, wounds Nature to the very Heart; for by degrees it debilitates the proper Heat, infects the Blood with a salt sharp keen Quality, parches up and consumes the sweet Oyl and Radical Moisture, suffocates the pure Spirits by whole-sale, causing



the *Blood* (their limpid Fountain and natural habitation) to become wheyish and watery. Especially, if *Chollick* or *Sanguine Complexion'd People* shall accustom themselves to the eating of such Sawces, it will much sooner and more deplorably vitiate the *Tone* of their Stomachs, than of such as are *Plegmatick*; but they are not good nor natural for any whatsoever, except now and then in a Physicall way for very cold dull heavy *Phlegmatick People*, and they must eat it sparingly too; but the mischief is, whoever shall accustom themselves to these Sawces, cannot forbear from Excess therein, without great trouble and constraint upon themselves: The very same is to be understood of all other Extreame, as *Brandy, Tobacco, and the like*.

Besides, all such things are far more pernicious, and bring greater danger to Health in hot Countries, than in colder Climates, as many have found by woful Experience, because there the central Heat is nothing so strong  
and

and powerful as in colder Regions, and consequently the pure Spirits and Radical Moisture weaker, and more apt to be wounded, suffocated or evaporated, as all do know that have Eyes that can see into the *Arcana of Nature*.

But to return to our *Guinea-Pepper*, it is such an Extream in Nature, *viz.* so hot and poysonous, that if the bigger sort be dryed, and the Cods cut and the Seeds scattered amongst Clothes, Hats, or the like, that are to be packt up, it proves the best Preservative from the Moth, and other Vermin that is known; for its excessive keenness destroys all Generation, even in the very bud. Likewise, if it be burnt in a Room, the Doors and Windows being close shut, it will destroy and kill all *Buggs, Fleas*, or the like, and you too, if you do not get out in time, its fumes are so hot, poysonous and penetrating, when once the fire has open'd its body, and manifested what before internally lay hid.

This

This bigger sort our English do commonly pickle, and so preserve it for a common Sawce to eat with *Flesh*: Now this pickling of it with *Salt* and *Vinegar* does still add to its heat and sharpness; For *Salt* is of an hot harsh sharp Nature, and if it be not moderately eaten, dries, heats, and is of a parching operation, very inimical to Health, but a Ring-leader to the *Scurvy* and other Diseases, and *Vinegar* is also of an hot keen fretting Nature, especially when joyned or incorporated with such high fires and things of unequal Natures: Therefore the frequent use of this sort of Swace is to be accounted very injurious to Health, especially in such hot Climates, where the continual influences of the *Sun* do more exhale and draw forth the Radical Moisture, thereby weakning the central parts, which ought therefore rather to be refresht and cherishd by proper Foods, than annoyed and prejudiced by such hot violent things, as do yet further depress and debilitate them.

Of

Of *Orzora*, or *Grommar*.

**T**His is a brave Noble Fruit; and being boyled, they make a gallant substantial Food, affording a good firm Nourishment, being eaten with *Butter*, *Vinegar*, and *Bread*. Some will boyl and eat them with *Flesh*, but they do not eat so well as many other sorts of *Herbs* and *Roots* do in that case; for they being in themselves of a jellyous Nature, do not seem so proper to be eaten with *Flesh*: But they make an excellent *Pottage*, which if well prepared, and proper Ingerdients added, afford a brave strong firm Nourishment, and yet easie of Concoction. If the intrinsick Vertues of this Fruit were understood, the Food made thereof would be had in far greater estimation than it is; for both the Fruit it self and the *Pottage* made thereof are of singular Vertues and use for weakly People, and such as are inclinable to *Consumptions*, *weak Heats* and *Obstructions*.

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ons of the Breast, far more excellent  
than Mr. Doctors Jelly made of *Harts-  
Horn*, and the like, as being much  
more natural and agreeable to the Sto-  
mach.

Which way ever you dress them  
they are not only delightful to the Pal-  
late, when a little innur'd to them, but  
also easie of Concoction, gently loosing  
the Belly, of a moderate or middle Na-  
ture as to heat, and may by all Ages  
and Constitutions, healthy or sickly,  
be eaten with safety, and to the ad-  
vantage of Health and Strength ; and  
we do advise all the English to eat of  
it more frequently, and then they shall  
assuredly find more Vertues therein  
than is here set down.

### Of Aguma.

**T**His is an Herb of a bitter Nature,  
but when boyled, that Martial  
Taste is much allayed, and it becomes  
a brave noble Salad or Food, being  
boyled in plenty of good Water, and  
eaten

eaten with *Butter*, *Venegar*, *Salt* and  
*Bread*, or with *Flesh* ; for it power-  
 fully opens the gates of *Nature*, and  
 the obstructions of the *Breast* and *Sto-*  
*mach*, it moderately relaxes the *Belly*,  
 cools and refresheth all the internal  
 parts, affording brisk lively *Spirits*,  
 pure *Blood*, and a good *Habit of Body*,  
 if *Temperance* be observed by the ea-  
 ters thereof, which does give the great-  
 est *Credit* and *Reputation* to all sorts  
 of *Meats* and *Drinks* ; for the best  
 and most *Natural* cannot but prove  
 burthensome and harmful, when *So-*  
*briety* is wanting. The excellency of  
 this *Herb* does chiefly reside in the dis-  
 tasteful or bitter *Quality*, which at  
 first eating is somewhat unpleasant,  
 but a little custome will make it friend-  
 and more delightfom than others that  
 are less bitter ; for all *Herbs* are the  
 most grateful to the *Stomach*, and ea-  
 siest of *Digestion*, in which the *Bitter*  
*Quality* or *Taste* is a little predomi-  
 nant, for this property is lively, and  
 the cause of *Motions* quick and pene-  
 trating ;

( 40 )  
trating; for which cause the wise Antients have noted, and not without sufficient ground, all or most bitter Herbs to be good against most kinds of Stoppages and Obstructions. And therefore on that account, this Herb is to be preferred before those of a sweeter milder Nature, because all sweet things are heavy and more flat on the Stomach, and harder of Concoction, and nothing so brisk and lively; for which reason the *Natives* in *Guinea*, have a certain Root or Fruit call'd *Tantarobois*, which is full of bitter Seeds, and then they mix with their Foods, which proves very profitable to their Healths, so that they live strong and lusty to very great Ages. This herb *Agumma*, is under the Government of *Mercury* and *Mars*, in the sign *Gemini*.

### Of Red-weed, or Catterpillars.

**T**His is an Herb of a mild gentle friendly Nature and Operation, easie of Concoction, cleanseth the Stomach,



Stomach, and gently loosens the Belly, and is very profitable boyled in plenty of Water, and eaten with *Butter*, *Salt* and *Bread*, as also with *Flesh*, but especially with *salt-Fish*; for by its mild friendly Nature it allayes the harsh stubborn fierceness of such *Flesh*, and the heat of the *Salt*, which if frequently eaten without store of either Herbs or Roots to qualifie them, proves very prejudicial to Health, especially in hot Countries. The truth is, this is an excellent Herb, and ought to be increased and planted for general use; for it ought to be held in greater estimation than either *Mutton* or *Beef*, or indeed any other sort of *Flesh*, it being an allayer of all immoderate heat: It is under the Dominion of *Jupiter*, in *Pisces*.

There are also a great Number of brave Herbs in the *West-Indies*, which are transplanted from the more Northern Climates, and thrive very well there, viz. *Sage*, *Rosemary*, *Thyme*, *Winter* and *Summer Savory*, *Mint*, *Pennyroyal*,

royal, Parsely, Charvil, Onions, Lettice  
 Sorrel, Beetes both white and Red, Spin-  
 nage, Cabadges or Colworts, Comfry, and  
 many other gallant wholsome Herbs,  
 and they are all or most of them by  
 the Coelestial influences and continual  
 enlivening Beams of that Fountain of  
 heat, the Sun, rendered far more fra-  
 grant and salutiferous than in colder  
 Regions, and so do make most excel-  
 lent Sallads, which being mixt with  
 Oyl or Butter, the Juice of Oranges and  
 Salt, warm the whole Body, and more  
 naturally and pleasantly exhillerate the  
 Spirits than any sort of Wine drank in  
 Moderation.

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Some brief Directions for the Pre-  
 servation of Health, and Life in  
 hot Climates.

**I**T is a very common conceit  
 amongst the Europeans, that of  
 late are come to Inhabit in Plantations  
 of America, that by the Nature of the  
 Climate

of a good and vertuous Man, and they have a paradisical Original; nor are any capable of living in the Power and Operation of those holy Vertues: But such as are *born again*, not of the *Flesh*, but of the *Spirit*, and live under the Government of the friendly Principle of Gods Love and holy Light, manifested and communicated in and by his *blessed Son*, our *Lord*, which does teach all that are obedient thereunto, to deny themselves all *Gluttony*, *Superfluity*, *Uncleanness*, *Covetousness*, *Pride*, *vain-Boasting*, *Self-Conceit*, *Intemperance in Meats*, *Drinks*, *Idleness*, and evil *Communications*; For not in these things doth the *Kingdom of God* consist, but in those others before-named.

Whereas on the contrary, the *Kingdom of Satan*, *Darkness*, *Wrath* and *eternal Sorrow*, does consist in *Superfluity*, *Intemperance in Meats and Drinks*, both for *Quantity* and *Quality*; in *Envy*, *Back-biting*, *Swearing*, *Lying*, *Oppression*, *Violence*, *Killing*, and the like *Enormities*, which are the *Fruits of Hell*, and their original Spring is from the *dark Fountain of Wrath*, and *eternal Woe*. Therefore well might the Apostle say, *That Gods LOVE Kingdom* did not consist in such things. As the same Apostle prescribes in another place, *Whether you eat*

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or drink, or whatsoever else you do, do it all  
to the praise of God. And again, — All  
things are pure to the sober and pure of Mind.  
— All things are good being Sanctified by  
the Word and Prayer. So that hence we may  
see, that all outward and material things  
stand in the Possibility of being sanctified  
and used to the Creator's honour and glo-  
ry. To this in some sense, may be re-  
ferred, what the great and only absolute  
Pattern of Sobriety, Temperance and all  
other holy Virtues, even our blessed Jesus,  
said unto his Disciples, and in them to all  
that thence-after should become his Fol-  
lowers, at his last Eating and Drinking  
of the Fruit of the Vine, or last Supper:  
He took Bread (not Flesh as some would  
make us believe, against the express Text,  
plain Reason and common Sense) and  
brake it, and Wine, and drank it, and  
gave it to them, saying, *This is my Body,*  
*and my Blood, which is shed for you; there-*  
*fore as oft you as do it* [that is, eat and drink  
it] *do it in Remembrance of Me* [that is,  
let my Spirit direct, guide, and teach you  
in all your eatings and drinkings] or else it  
cannot be done to the Glory of God; for  
(not derogating from the prime Sacramen-  
tal Relation of those Words) all this exter-  
nal or material World, and every thing  
contained

contained therein, may also (in a *Scripture-Dialect*, which is replenisht with *Parables* and *Allusions*) be said to be *Gods Body*, since it is supported and sustained by the wonderful Power and Verture of his *Co-essential* and *Co-eternal* Universal Spirit, which is the true Life of the Body. So often as you do this, do it in Remembrance of me : That is, forget not the Ransom paid for you, the Example set before you, nor the Voice of Wisdom in your Hearts, which ought to be consulted with, and its Counsel obeyed in all our Eatings, and Drinkings, and Communications; for he that does not eat and drink with *Thanksgiving*, and to *Gods Praise*, does it to his Dishonour, and to his own *Damnation*. But all things of that Nature must be done in Remembrance of *Christ*, so as not to forget or neglect the guidance of his holy Spirit, and with a due fear and observation of what is needful : Thus you may see that the *Kingdom of God* consists not in *Meats* or *Drinks*, but yet that the Life of a real *Christian* is (whether he eats or drinks, or whatsoever he does) to do all to the Praise and Glory of God; which no *Glutton*, *Drunkard*, or *intemperate Person* can do, or does so much as pretend to; Therefore our urgent exhortations to *Sobriety*, are as

*Necessary as they will (being hearkned unto) prove Profitable.*

*Guloso, You have said more upon that Subject, in several Points, than I ever heard or at least considered before, and I cannot but acknowledge it has made such Impressions, as at present I know not how to oppose or avoid. I am fully convinced, that Temperance and Sobriety are both most Necessary and most pleasant Virtues: But since you think it advisable in many Cases to abandon the common Customes, of eating of Flesh and Fish, especially to Gluttony and Excess, and that you have in general spoken of other Foods which might supply such as are willing to confine themselves to a more cleanly, innocent, and less offensive course of Diet, I desire you would now descend to tell us the Particulars, and several sorts of Food, which you recommend as most wholesome to the Body and the Mind?*

*Soph. As I am far from the Vanity, or rather Wickedness, of desiring to start or promote any new Sect or Party, and have no Ambition, to Impose my own Dictates, or any, further than Holy Scriptures, and right Reason enjoyn. So I am glad that my mean Discourses have had any good Effects, to take off your mind from Gluttony and Excess, with all that in earnest lay claim*

to the *Christian Name*, cannot but acknowledge to be most destructive both to Soul and Body. And here one thing I would most earnestly request of you, that as far as you are convinced, you would immediately resolve to Practice; for to what purpose are the most excellent *Notions*, if they prove nothing but *Notions*, and serve not to meliorate our Lives? Devils are very *knowing*, but still through Obstinacy of Malice they remain *Devils*. He that lives up to what he *Knows*, the good God will not be wanting to add to him what he yet *knows* not: But he that is *perswaded*, and yet will not be *prevailed upon*, that winks hard, shuts his Eyes against *beaming Light*, and can talk like an *Angel*, yet live the Life of a *Brute*, what can be expected but that divine Vengeance should deliver him up to a *Reprobate Mind*, and *Darkness* of Understanding here, and *utter eternal Darkness* hereafter.

Guloso, You extoll the *Vertues* of *Vegetations* all along very much, pray therefore resolve me, why Honey will not keep several years, or as long as Oyl, Sugar, and the like, seeing it is indued with a Noble Balsamick and Spirituous Quality, and that it proceeds from *Vegetations*?

Sophronio, Because it hath passed through



the Animal Kingdom, and suffered a Fermentation or Digestion, by which it is defiled, being infected thereby with an Animal faculty, whence proceeds an hogo or strong Taste; for those digestions the Bees by their Art have performed, have as it were suffocated the pure Spirituous Vertues of this Transparent and sublime sweet Water, so that it becomes hard, and subject to a gross phlegmie Body, which decays it in a little time; for all things that proceed from the Animal-Kingdom, or pass through their digestions, are thereby rendered so much the more subject to Putrifaction. The truth of this is further manifested in all sorts of *Cloth*, that is made of *Wool* and *Hair*, or any thing that grows on any Creature, will not the keeping of it, especially in close places, in a little time cause it to generate various sorts of living Creatures, as Moths and the like, which Creatures do proceed out of its own Bowels, which will in a little time eat it, and totally destroy the whole. But on the other side, *Linnen Cloth*, which is nothing but a Vegetation, how long may you keep it either in close or open places before it generates any such Vermine, or other thing, that will destroy it, which do proceed from its own Radix; the very same may be said of *Oyl*, *Sugar*, &c. that are only Vegetations. Guloso,

Guloso, Since you seem to be so curious in distinguishing the Natures and Operations of each thing, and so fully resolved me in many particulars, I cannot conceive but you must have some sight and knowledge of the Generation of many of the Distempers we groan under. And therefore desire you, not to think your time long, to give me a short description of, and how to prevent, the Tooth-ach; sore-Mouthes in little Children, called the Thrush, &c?

Sophronio, Very willing I am to satisfy you in any particular, that may be to your advantage. And first as to the many Diseases now Raging, and the Tooth-ach in particular, for your better understanding the Generation, Prevention and Cure of them; I do refer you to *The Way to Health*, where I doubt not but your desire will be fully answered. And as for the Thrush in Childrens Mouthes, shall lay you down a very certain Rule to prevent it, viz. Let the Childrens Nurses or Mothers, from the time of Birth, wash the Childrens Mouthes 10, 12, or 14 times a day with a clout or Ragg, tyed to a little stick, and at Night also with *River* or *Fountain-Water*. If this course be but observed, there will be but little danger of this Distemper; but if it should not prevent it, then as soon as you perceive the Childs Mouth begin to be sore, wash it as above-  
directed.

directed, with *Salt and Water*. And if the Childs Brech be sore, then wash it several times in a day with *Milk and Water* mixed, wherein a little *Oatmeal* is put and stirred together, and only warmed before the Fire as hot as *Cows Milk*.——For the prevention of most Diseases, in Women and Children, and what Food is most proper for them, I refer you to *The Way to Health, long Life and Happiness, &c.* wherein I have discoursed what is necessary for the prevention of many cruel Diseases, that are occasioned through the unskilfulness of Mothers and Nurfes. They ought also to take care that the wet Cloathes that come from the Child should be kept away from the Fire while warm; for that is hurtful to the Child, being apt to precipitate it (sympathetically) into Feaverish heats. The same is to be understood of the After-Birth, that is usually burned, which ought not to be done till it be thoroughly cold.

Guloso, You have in some of your discourse employed such an *Happiness* attainable by the Sons of Temperance, that as they hurt no Body, so no Body shall hurt them. Therefore if it might not be impertinent, I desire you would Resolve me the best Course, that all sober People ought to take to secure themselves from in-  
curring

*curing the displeasure of Rulers, and the States, Princes and great Men of the World, and so not fall under Violence, nor be imprisoned, killed, or any of the like hard ships inflicted on them; for we see that most Sects, Opinions and Religions, are one where or other, subject to a Thousand Miseries of that kind.*

*Sophronio, This is indeed a Question of moment, and according to the Gift the blessed Creator has indued me with, I shall endeavour to put you, and all good People into the ready way to obtain this most happy condition. 1st, All that pretend to true Christianity must through the divine Christian Spirit, overcome and destroy in themselves the Government of the Spirit of Violence, Wrath, and Enmity, in the Grounds of their own Hearts, whence does arise the Spirit of Fighting, Contention, and Killing each other, and Contending about, or aiming at Government; and this many times under the fair pretences of Religion, whereas pure Religion, and undefiled teaches no such Practice, but condemns them. 2dly, They must give over, and abandon that ever-teeming seed-Plot of Contention, the Magnifying, Exalting and Wrangling for external Forms, Modes and Ceremonies in Religion, and tripping up one anothers Hells, to make them go the nearest*

nearest way to Heaven, which leads many into the very Abyſſe of Darkneſs and Evil.

3dly, They muſt by all means overcome and captivate that cruel Hellish ſpirit of *Back-biting*, *Scoffing*, *Jeering*, and ſpeak-  
ing lightly or *Slanderouſly* of their abſent *Friends*, *Neighbours*, or *Fellow Creatures*, which is an Epe-  
demical Diſtemper amongſt moſt ſorts of *Sects*, and *Religious People*.

4thly, They muſt not dare either publicly, nor in the ſecret of their Hearts, to think or ſpeak evil or Reproachfully of *Superior* or *Inferior* Magiſtrates, even though they ſeem harſh and ſevere; but on the other ſide, ſubmit with Patience, and pray unto your Bleſſed Creator (in whoſe Hands are the Hearts of *Princes*) for their Amendment and Well-doing; for thoſe that ſpeak Evil of Dignities, work their own Condemnation; nor let them flatter themſelves with ſafety, becauſe they whiſper ſuch Calumnies in ſecret; for as the wiſe man ſaith, Even the *Birds* of the *Air* ſhall diſcover the evil Voice, and bring to light the private Curses and evil Surmizings of *Back-biters*.

5thly, They muſt when they know any evil their *Neighbour*, or *Friend*, have committed, obſerve the Heavenly Rule that our Saviour Chriſt left, and commanded all his Diſciples to obey, that is, privately to

reprove and Admonish them, in the Spirit of Meekness and true Love, which would put a great stop to many of the Evils and Controversies in the World. 6thly, Let them abandon the use of all Warlike Weapons, as *Guns, Swords, Powder, Bullets*, and the like, and also their uses. 7thly, Let them do no Violence to any of the inferior Creatures, nor in no kind Oppress, Hurry, or Kill them; nor eat the *Blood* or *Flesh* of Beasts, that so they may avoid the incorporating of the Bestial, Savage and sensual Properties, with the Humane Nature; for he that will not kill a *Sheep*, will not kill a man; nor need any Magistrate fear his Rebelling, by way of Tumult or Arms, who refuses to intermeddle with any such Tools. 8thly, They ought not to meddle or make with the outward Government of this World, that is, in Caballing together, taking of Sides, and making of Parties, crying up one, and slighting another, nor yet to give their Voices or Hands for such or such, and the like Embracements, because the outward Government of this World, and the Mannagery of the *Sword*, or Power that upholds it, belongs only to the Kings, Princes, &c. and not to the Kingdom of Christ, as he said to his Disciples, *My Kingdom is not of this World, if it were, I could*

could pray to my Father, and Legions of Angels would be granted unto me. Now if Christians did herein but imitate their Captain, and sequester their thoughts from the Turmoils of the World, it would in a little time put a stop to all Violence, Contention and Wrath, both towards those of their own kind, and to all the undergraduated Creatures. Lastly, They ought to observe the Rules of Temperance, Sobriety, and Cleanness, both in Meats, Drinks, Exercises and Communications, which renders man fit and capable of all the Noble Functions of the Body and Mind; observing and practising of these Rules, they shall find an inward and outward serenity, and walk in an happy Calm, through all the Thunders and Lightnings of a Tempestuous World; which shall have no Power to hurt them, because they are seperated from it, and live out of the Sphere of its Activity; For when Persons through the Divine Power and Regenerating Principle of Gods eternal Love and true Light, which came to seek and draw mens Souls out of the fore-mentioned Evils, that they might attain to Number of Divine Wisdom and heavenly Speculations; for no Form, Ceremony, extetnal Form, or kind of Worship, has Power or Efficacy to allay or disarm, the  
 Rage



Rage and Wrath in mankind, but it is Innocency only can do it: When People, I say, are arrived to this harmless state, it will in a degree, awaken its simile in the Worst or Violentest of men, and does as it were still allay and calm the raging Seas of Wrath; and therefore it may truly be said, that as Innocency hurts nothing, so nothing can hurt that. For no chief Magistrate would oppress, kill or destroy any sort of Religious People, if they were known to be truly such, and had by long experience Approved themselves in all Innocency and Well-doing; for did they dwell in the Center of Meekness, and had overcome the War-like Spirit, Governours would fear their Rising or Tumulting, no more than they do the Rebellion of *Sheep*, or *Lambs*, or an Insurrection of *Robin Red-Breasts*; so we see men do not Arm themselves when they Travel in Woods and Desarts against *Sheep*, or other the like Innocent Creatures, which they know will do them no harm, but against *Lions*, and *Bears*, and *Tygers*, and such like fierce Savages, whose Nature and custom is to do Mischief; so if once the higher Powers were made sensible of such Persons innocent Ground, and understood that the peaceable Meek Principle of Love, had really the Dominion in

their Souls and Hearts, this would so powerfully work upon them by Simile, that all or most of their Inclinations towards Rigour and Violence would be taken off, rebated or meliorated. But on the contrary, let men be of what Perswasions, Opinions or Religion they will, even the best sort of them, if their Hearts and Souls still stand in the fierce, fighting, killing, wrathful Spirit, let their pretences, when under the Pressures of any Government of contrary Sentiments, be ever so fair and God-like, yet they are still suspected, and regarded with a jealous Eye : And when ever they themselves shall get an opportunity of domineering and being uppermost, they will appear in another Form and Spirit, and be as apt and ready to oppress, kill and destroy those that are of a contrary Form or Notion ; for indeed they were always in the wrathful Spirit at the centre of their Hearts, and wanted nothing but opportunity to manifest and exert it. The truth of this is confirmed by the experience of all Ages ; for such People are but as most men in Sickneses, or under great Calamities, who make many Promises to God and their own Souls of amendment and Repentance, if it please their Maker to spare them a few days, or to restore, or deliver them. But it is generally seen that

when they have obtained their former health and Strength, or freed from those threatned Afflictions, they forget all their Promises, and trample on their Vows, and fall again to their old Trade of evil living, which is significantly, though oddly, expressed in the old English Proverb,

*The Devil was Sick, the Devil, a Monk  
would be ;*

*The Devil was Well, the Devil, a Monk  
was He.*

Whilst men are under adversity and the pressures of Sicknes and Distempers, such wholesome Physick debilitates the sensual Powers, and gives advantage to the divine Principle whereby they are in a degree made more meek and friendly; but still, not being fully purged from the old Leaven, but retaining the same Rotteness at the Core, and letting the wrathful wicked Principle keep a dormant Possession in the Ground of their Souls, as soon as the former restraining Circumstances, and impending Storms, which drove them to shelter, are overblown, the bitter Root presently puts forth fresh Branches, and they declare it by their Words, Works, and Communications; The very same is to be understood of the Fighting, Ambitions, intermeddling

Spirit of Violence. And for this cause Magistrates jealous of their own Safety, will not believe the generality of their Religious People of a different Mode, nor trust them, though their expressions be never so fair, because experience shews them to be most times but Pretentions; for that such as exclaimed loudest against the rigours of such Governours as kept them under *Hatches*, as soon as they become Masters of the Deck, shifted their Sails, and shew'd themselves as rigid, or more severe towards all that differ'd from them. So difficult a thing it is to trust those whose Souls and Hearts swim in Wrath and Violence, or in the killing, fighting Spirit: For Religion (though it make the Noise) is not really the Business, that occasions all these Tumults and Combustions in the World. 'Tis not for Heaven, that Cities are laid waste, and Kingdoms desolate, and Men are kill'd and Orphans undone; but 'tis worldly Policy and Ganduer, reason of State, Empire and Gold, Power and Riches, that are the leading-Cards, the Master Root and prime Spurs to all Male Contents and Factions; and to preserve these from Invasion, is the main End of Government, though oft times prevention or suppression of Heresies in Religion, &c. be pretended: Let  
therefore

comes from the *Cow*, raw or made into *Milk-Pottage*, or sometimes turned and the *Whey* drank, which is admirable for many People, as to wholesomeness and Health, especially for such as are subject to windy diseases, it powerfully carries the windy matter downwards, and causes it to pass away freely, *in fumo*: Also, *Milk* skimm'd and the skimm'd *Milk* drank, effects the same far better than the *Milk* with the *Cream*. Also, *Milk*, *Water* and *Flower* made into a Pap, according to our directions, in our Treatise entituled, *The Good Housewife made a Doctor, &c.* is a brave Noble Substantial Food; so is *Water*, *Eggs* and *Flower* made into a Pap, and *Water-gruel*, *Herb-Pottage*, *Eggs*, *Butter* and the like, are very gallant Healthy and most Natural Foods, far excelling all *Flesh* and *Fish*, especially in hot Countries. as a little resolved Experience will certainly teach any that shall try it; with many other proper Foods you shall find in my aforesaid Treatise, and the right

preparation of each of them; together with the Nature and Operation of various drinks, as most sorts of *Wine, Ale, Beer, Syder*, each spoken to distinctly by themselves, &c.

8. They ought to avoid the frequent eating and drinking of all Foods or Liquors in which the *Sweet* Quality is too highly predominant; for sweet Foods are of far more dangerous consequence as to Health, than most People imagin; for all Sweet things when fermented in the Stomach do turn to the highest *sourness*, viz. into a keen sharpness, which does not only spoil the digestive faculty, but infects the Blood with a Mangie, Scorbutick Humour, causing stoppages in all the external parts, whence proceed Indispositions, and akeing Loyns, and feeble Joynts. For the same cause it is, that such as eat much *Sugar* or sweet food, are extreemly troubled with rotten decay'd Teeth and Gumes; for those dullified foods cause such a sour acid

*Quality*

*Quality* as generates putrifaction, which centers on the Teeth and between the Gumes, and so destroys them: And it were far better and more healthy for People, if they would accustom themselves to Foods and Drinks in which the Bitter and Sower Qualities were more predominant, especially in hot Climates where most sorts of Fruits are sweetish, for the Root of all Motion, Opening and Cleansing, consists in the Bitter Quality; for which reason the *Sophys* or *Wise-men*, both of the *Southern* and *Eastern* Countries have taught the People to moderate all or most of their foods with *Herbs* and *Fruits* that are of a *Bitterish Quality*, which does wonderfully support Nature and preserve Health, whereby they attain to very great Ages, as we noted before of those in *Guinea*, and the same may be observed elsewhere; for those Patriarchs whose Longevity we find Recorded, did all of them live in very hot Countries: But their Temperance supported Nature, and so it will (in a proportionable



tionable degree) all that practice it. And therefore if these Rules of Health be seriously regarded and followed, those causeless scandals on the Climate, the Heat, &c. of these happy *Western, Southern and Eastern* Regions (not inferior for Health or Pleasantness (if rightly understood) to any in the World) will cease, and the English Traders or Inhabitants may there extend their lives in Comfort to as good an old Age, as they would have promised themselves in their Native Country: But without Discretion and Temperance in *Diet, Drinks, Exercises* and *Affections* of the mind, Diseases will certainly attend us, wherever we reside; and an immature Death be apt to seize us: There is no Region so happy, no Elevation of the Pole so temperate, no Air so salubrious, as to keep People in Health whether they will or no, and those that obstinately violate Nature, and wilfully pursue courses absolutely destructive, may justly be rank'd amongst the number of *Self-Murtherers,*

*Self-Murderers* ; for it matters not much whether a man kill himself *all at once*, or by repeated Acts *and degrees*, only the *latter* seems *less excusable*, since it has not the pretext of a sudden Temptation or Passion, but seems a more deliberate design of destroying both his Body and Soul, against all Cautions and Arguments from time to time offered to him, both by Reason and Experience to the contrary : Those therefore that would avoid the Brand of being *Felo's - de - se*, let them before it be too late abandon *Riot and Excess*, and embrace *Temperance and Sobriety*, so shall they have *Health* of Body and *Strength* of mind, and *length* of dayes here, and a *blissful Eternity* hereafter.

### A Caution.

**L** Et no sober well minded men, nor any that profess the honourable name of Christianity be so frequent in those places of Debauchery, viz, *Taverns and Ale-houses*, the first whereof

whereof being the only places of all manner of wickedness, where all the high lofty state of Superfluity is practised, being the haunts of evil Spirits, and where their chief work is done, Women are deflowered, and Estates spent, the Soul made incapable of Salvation, the Health destroyed; in a word, the whole *Microcosmical* man ruined, and is the very Radix of devilish Fewds and cruel Murders: Therefore let no good Christians dare to be seen in any such places; for tell me, I pray, what pleasure or delight can a sober well-minded man take in being amongst such a devilish Croud, where there is all kinds of wicked lewd Behaviour, as *Smearing, Lying, bawdy Songs, drunken Healths, and roaring Huzza's*, where a man can hardly hear himself spake, like the fiery unequal operations of the Elements, or Sea-Tempests and Storms. Now if Christian men scruple the wearing of needless Ornaments and Garments, with other things of Gallantry and State, wherefore

wherefore should they not shun and avoid the greater Evils: And although it be lawful to drink *Wine* in a *Tavern*, and *Ale* in an *Ale-house*, in cases of necessity, as Travelling or the like, yet they ought in Cities and Towns to avoid drinking or frequenting such places, whereby you will discountenance the Evils thereof, and preserve your selves Harmless and Innocent.

2. All sober People ought to refrain drinking between Meals, especially all *Gentlemen*, *Merchants*, *Shop-keepers*, &c. who are the men that drink the brave noble exhilarating Liquors in Superfluity; which a little custom would make most pleasant and easie; besides, it would free the Passages, and disburthen the Stomach from all superfluous matter, by which the Blood would become fine, and cause it to circulate freely, whence will proceed pure brisk lively Spirits, which will also render the whole Body and Mind lightsom.

lightſom, Strong and Healthy; beſides it would cut off all Superfluity and Wantonneſs in the bud, and gain time, which being well improved becomes a great Bleſſing.

3. Not only abſtaining from *Wine* ought to be minded but alſo in Foods, great care muſt be obſerved; for thoſe People that live moſtly upon clean innocent Foods, are briskeſt, more lightſom and Airy, and their minds better diſpoſed, and there does naturally ariſe in them Praiſes and Thanks to God for what they have, be it never ſo mean, As I remember one aſſured me, that after a little time of living on mean Foods, was more apt to give praiſe in his Heart to God, for a piece of Bread, than before for the higheſt delicacies.

4. Whenſoever any Perſons of Quality, or men of Eſtates ſhall in private Quarrels commit Murder, or kill a man; if the Friends of this Murderer

Murderer shall obtain a Pardon from the Prince or Governour of the place or Country, then let it be a custom for his whole Estate (if Childless) to be forfeited and given to the Poor, and a good part of it to the use and Children of the killed Person ; but if the Murderer have Children, then but one half of his Estate. By which means in a few years there would be yearly Revenues for the *Poor, Old, Blind and Lame* of most Countries and Cities; besides, it would in some degree put a stop to such vile Practices, and render such Savages incapable of committing the like offence for the future.

*The End of the First Part.*

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THE  
 Negro's Complaint  
 OF THEIR  
*Hard Servitude,*  
 AND THE  
 CRUELITIES  
 Practised upon them

By divers of their Masters professing Christianity in the West-Indian Plantations.

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The Second Part.

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**C**omplaints and Lamentations are the natural Language of the Miserable. 'Tis some kind of Easement to Hearts swell'd with Grief, and almost broken with the Rigors of Oppression,

*Oppression*, to tell the *sad Stories* of their *Woes*, and when they have lost all other *Liberty*, to bemoan themselves with *Freedom*: More especially, since *Nature* does not so readily furnish us with *Tears*, (the usual Expressions of *Sorrow*) we hope we may be allow'd to make our *Groans* articulate, and declare in words how intollerably we suffer by the deeds of unreasonable men.

But alas! what Language is suitable for such a purpose? What Expressions will be able to equal our *Afflictions*? Or to whom shall we address our mournful Appeals? If to our *Country-men*; the Inhabitants of those Lands where we first suckt in vital Air, and unhappily saluted the Light, *they are too remote to hear us*, as well as *unable to help us*; nay more, many of us owe the original of all our *Miseries* to some of their unnatural Cruelty, Revenge or Avarice: Shall we present our *doleful Narratives* to *Strangers*? They will scarce be able

to credit us when we set forth nothing  
but *certain Truths* and *woful Experi-*  
*ences* ; such *superlative Inhumanity*  
amongst *Nominal Christians* will sur-  
pass all Belief, and the Extremity of  
our *Calamities* making them seem *Ra-*  
*mantick*, debarrs us even of *Pity* and  
*Commiseration*, those general Slaves of  
helpless Misery : Shall we then fling  
our selves at our Masters feet, and  
with universal Cries importune them  
to Compassion and Charity ? Alas !  
those Vertues are Plants that scarce  
grow in these Islands ; nothing  
thrives here so fast as *poysoneous Tobacco*  
and *furious Pride*, *sweet Sugar* and most  
*bitter ill Nature* : A false conceit of  
*Interest* has blinded their Eyes and  
stopt their Ears, and rendred their  
Hearts harder than *Rocks of Adament*,  
more Remorseless than hungry Bears  
or *Tygers* in the *Hercanian Wilderness* :  
To *Sigh* they interpret to *Rebell*, and  
if we do in the least complain, 'tis  
with them a sufficient cause for ad-  
dition of *Stripes*, and encrease of ill  
Usage.

( 78 )

Beset thus with *thick-coming Sorrows*,  
and without Prospect of Help or Re-  
lief from men, to whom can we apply  
our selves, but to the *Fountain of*  
*Mercy and Goodness*, from whom we  
and all other Creatures derive their  
being?

To thee therefore, O *thou Eternal*  
*and Infinite unknown Parent of Angels*  
*and Men!* who numberest the Sands  
of the Shore, and didst pour forth  
the Ocean-Sea, who formedst the  
glorious Sun, and endued all the Stars  
with their Lustre, in comparison of  
whom Princes are Vanity, and Kings  
but animated Shadows, who art  
gracious in thy Goodness to the Poor  
and Oppressed, and whose Vengeance  
shall be terrible to the *Proud* and the  
*Cruel*. To thee, the only Refuge of  
the *Distressed*, we direct our *Com-*  
*plaints!* By thy holy Power, Hea-  
ven and Earth, and all things therein,  
were made, and by the same pre-  
served and sustained! Thou hast form-  
ed Man in thy own Likeness, and  
given

given him dominion and government,  
not only over the inferior Creatures,  
but also over each other, in *Clemency*  
and *Well-doing*; but instead thereof  
he hath turned away the Eye of his  
Mind from thy Counsels, and hath  
precipitated his Imagination into the  
Centre of Wrath and Fierceness, there-  
by defaming his Noble Birth, and  
depraving that innocent Paradisical  
Estate he was created in: So that  
whereas he was made a sociable Crea-  
ture, and intended for the well-order-  
ing of the inferior Beings, and the  
help and comfort of those of his own  
Species by mutual Acts of Benove-  
lence, Courtesie and Charity; he is  
now become a *Tyrant*, a *Plague*, a  
*professed Enemy*, *Hunter*, *Betrayer*, *De-*  
*stroyer* and *Devourer* of all the Inhabi-  
tants of *Earth*, *Air* and *Water*, and to  
those of his own kind no less fierce and  
cruel; so instead of *cherishing*, *assisting*,  
and *relieving* one another, they fight  
and tear each other like *Tygers*, and  
he is the bravest Fellow that can  
invent

invent the most mischievous Weapons  
and Engines of Destruction: The  
stronger and more subtle murder,  
enslave and oppress the weaker, and  
more innocent and simple sort at their  
pleasure, and pretend they have a  
Right, because they have got Power  
so to do. Nor is this only amongst  
us, and those People called *Heathens*,  
but even those who call themselves by  
thy Name, and boast the Title of  
*Christians*, are no less active in these  
Exploits and Practices than any other.

We find and feel by sad Experience  
the fatal consequences of this Apo-  
stacy from the Dignity of the humane  
Nature: We had never been snatcht  
from the Lands of our Nativity, never  
travers'd Liquid Mountains, nor  
journied through the Hazards of vast  
Seas, to be cast away on Land; never  
been brought in Fetters into new  
Worlds, nor made perpetual Slaves  
in Regions which neither we nor our  
fore-Fathers ever heard of before, if  
we had not first forsaken and violated  
that

that Law of our Creator which he had planted in us, and entred with our Wills into the Root of *Bitterness* and the *fierce Wrath*, whereby the *Savage Nature* got the dominion in the hearts of us, and our Ancestors, so that *Fury, Revenge, Covetousness, Pride, vain Glory* and *Intemperance* is never satisfied; Hence *Fevds* and *Wars* are set on foot in our Native Countries, and those that are strongest and most numerous, kill, slay and murder the other at their pleasure; and as for those that they save alive, 'tis not out of pity or kindness, but to gratifie their own Covetousness, by making Merchandize of them, and exposing them to *Slavery*, far worse than Death.

For then we are hurried from our nearest and dearest Relations, the kind Husband from his loving Wife, the tender Mother from her helpless Babes, and Youths (the comfort and joy of Age) snatcht from their mourning Parents, and that without any hopes of ever seeing one another

G

again.



again. Thus are we sometimes driven  
many Miles by Land over parching  
Deserts, and through howling Wilder-  
nesses, down to the Sea-Coasts, and  
and Factories being all the way miser-  
ably *abus'd* by our unmerciful Drivers,  
and wearied and spent with *Over-*  
*Travel, Hunger, Drought and excessive*  
*Heat*, which puts a period to many of  
our sweet Lives; but the same, when  
it happens, is reckoned an happiness;  
for thereby that greater and long last-  
ing Misery is prevented, which those  
that survive must endure; for no  
sooner are they arrived at the Sea-side  
but they are sold (like Beasts to the  
Merchant, who glad of the booty  
puts us aboard the Ship, claps us  
under Deck, and binds us in Chains  
and Fetters, and thrusts us into the  
*dark no som Hold*, so many and so close  
together, that we can hardly breathe,  
there are we in the hottest of Summer,  
and under that scorching Climate  
without any of the sweet Influences  
of the Air, or brizing Gale to refresh

us, suffocated, stewed and parboyled  
altogether in a Crowd, till we almost  
rot each other and our selves.

Nay, many times not only our pro-  
fess Enemies, but our Treacherous  
Friends betray us to these intollerable  
Miseries; for so far is the Root of bit-  
terness irritated, and such an Ascen-  
dent it hath over us, that for vain  
trifles our palsey Parents, shall sell their  
Children, and Hubands their Wives  
into perpetual Slavery; Nor let any  
Christian Tyrants for this upbraid us;  
for if it be (as in truth it is) a most  
unnatural wickedness in our People to  
sell them, is it not upon the matter al-  
most as bad in the Christians to buy  
them? Nay, rather is not the chiefest  
Crime in them, since they are the  
Tempters and Occasioners of it? for  
they allure our People to it, by offer-  
ing them several sorts of Goods which  
they find they have most mind to?  
And is not this a fine imployment  
think you, for Christians, to run to  
remotest Regions, to get their inno-

gent Fellow Creatures and make Slaves of them?

Whilst we are thus mew'd up in the Ship, besides the inconveniencies of heat, and danger of suffocation, and the Torture of our Chains, we also run the hazard of being half starved; for the Ship-Masters out of Covetousness, and for their own Lucre, will not allow us fit or competent Meats or Drinks, but just enough to keep Life and Soul together, and that corrupt, decayed stinking and unwholesome, by which all our Healths and Lives are destroyed or impaired; for oft times half or more of our wretched Number dye in the Voyage, and others of us, of more sturdy Spirits and Tempers, when they see themselves thus Captiv'd, scorning to preserve a Life that thenceforth would be only advantagious to others, and burthensome to them, by refusing all Sustenance, have shortened their dayes.

As for the rest we are so generally

ounded in our Healths by the ill  
usage we receive on Ship-board, that  
we seldom recover our strength, and  
when we come on Shore we find no  
better fare nor Treatment from our  
new Christian Masters, most of them  
proving as sharp and Tyrannical as our  
own *Heathen Fathers and Brethren* (as  
they call them) for when we by the  
Ship-Master and Seamen have suffered  
so many violent Miseries and sore Op-  
pressions, that we are thereby as poor,  
weak and feeble as Death, so that we  
can hardly either stand or go, which  
rendering us not capable to answer  
the Covetous ends of our new Masters,  
our Afflictions are thereby doubled;  
for when our strength fails us, the in-  
considerate and unmerciful Overseers  
make nothing to Whip and Beat us,  
and the best words they can afford us,  
are, *Damn'd Doggs, Black ugly Devils,*  
*idle Sons of Ethiopiean Whores, and the*  
*like.*

Alas! we expected another sort of  
Treatment from the Christians, who

boast themselves the Sons and Favou-  
rites of the God of Love and Goodness,  
and who (we have been informed)  
are, or ought to be endued with the  
Spirit of Meekness, Innocency, and do-  
*in unto all as they would be done unto.* We  
understand that to be a Christian is to  
live under the Government of the Di-  
vine Principle of *Benignity* and *Well-*  
*doing*, from whence all good Vertues  
are deriv'd, as streams from a Foun-  
tain: But verily we find little, very  
little, or scarce any sign at all of this  
excellent Spirit to reign in the hearts  
of our Masters or Overseers; but on  
the contrary, find them over-ruled and  
filled with Devilishness, Cruelty and  
Oppression, which are so extream that  
we can as hardly bear them, as the *Is-*  
*raelites* of Old could the grievous and  
unreasonable Burthens of *Egyptian,*  
*Pharoah*, and his *Task-masters*, which  
did force them to cry unto the Lord for  
ease and deliverance from those cruel  
Bonds and Slaveries, even as we do at  
this day.

To enumerate the miseries we endure by a particular Bill of Parcels, would be too tedious, we shall Instance in some few of the most Insufferances, that all knowing Power, to whom our Cries are directed, knows all the several aggravations of them, and the Consciences of our Masters, cannot but witness to the Truth and Justice of our Complaints.

1. Though we acknowledge man is born to Labour, and had not hands only given him to put Victuals into his Mouth, but first to use them in tilling the Earth, and getting Food and all other things requisite for humane Life, yet certainly the merciful God never intended that any of his Creatures should be forced to Labour beyond their natural strength, nor have burthens imposed on their weary Shoulders, greater than they are able to bear: Labour was undoubtedly enjoined as an exercise to preserve Health and Strength, and prevent Sloth and

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Idleness.

(35)  
Idleness, not as a perpetual Plague to  
destroy Nature, and make Life a Tor-  
ment, and Death a Courtesy; yet our  
*Flint-hearted Tyrants*, not content  
with diligent Industry and pains, force  
us to unreasonable Labours, both for  
toil and continuance, beyond the pow-  
er of Nature; and whereas a good  
man is merciful even to his Beast, they  
extend no Compassion to us, who are  
of the same Species with themselves,  
but slave us on in continual drudgery,  
till our Heart-strings crack, and our  
Nerves are enfeebled, and our Mar-  
row is exhausted, and our Bones fall  
under their Burthens, and our Spirits  
are consumed, and our Souls in Weari-  
ness and Anguish, wish for Death ra-  
ther than Life.

The end of all Natures Motions is  
Rest, nor can she perform any of her  
Operations without Refreshment;  
*Ground* alwayes plow'd yields little en-  
crease, but must lie fallow now and  
then, if you expect a Crop: A *Bow*  
alwayes bent will hardly send an *Ar-*



you to the *Mark*, but our inconsiderate Masters regard neither the voice of *Nature* nor *Reason*, but with Cruelty compel us to Labour beyond our strength, and allow us no competent time of *Rest* or *Refreshment*, in so much that often-times we are forc'd to work so long at the *Wind-Mills*, until we become so *Weary*, *Dull*, *Faint*, *Heavy* and *Sleepy*, that we are as it were deprived of our natural Senses, or like men in a maze, that we fall into danger, and oft times our Hands and Arms are crush'd to pieces, and sometimes most part of our Bodies; and though sometimes these evils do befall us through Carelessness, yet oft times they come by the means aforesaid.

So also we are forced to stand and work at the *Coppers*, in the hot sulphurous Fumes, till Nature being overcome with weariness and want of proper Rest we fall into the fierce boiling Syrups, and in these disasters little or no pity is taken of us, for though some indeed profess a superfinial sorrow for

for our mischances, it is chiefly for  
 their own sakes, not ours, because  
 thereby they have lost the worth of  
 so much Money as we were reck'n'd  
 at, not for the loss of our Lives, which  
 yet to us are as precious, and of as  
 much value as those of our proud and  
 haughty Masters; and so also they are  
 in Thy sight, *O our gracious Creator* !  
 for we likewise are the work of Thine  
 hands, and endued with equal Facul-  
 ties, both *Sensitive* and *Intellectual*.

As in the excess of Labour, so also  
 as to the hours of working, our *Chri-  
 stian* and *European* Masters do commit  
 great Errors, compelling us to work  
 all day in the scorching heat, till our  
 Spirits are thereby exhaled, and our  
 Radical Moisture dried up, which is  
 the fountain of Life; they seldom con-  
 sidering the nature of hot Climates,  
 wherein no Mortal can endure so  
 many hours severe Labour as in colder  
 Regions. For, 1<sup>st</sup>. The Constitutions  
 of men in hot Climates, are naturally  
 weaker than in cold: 2<sup>dly</sup>. They come

to Maturity in fewer years: ~~3dly~~  
 The continual Heat of the scorching  
 Sun opens the Pores, and at those in-  
 numerable *Sally-ports* powerfully draws  
 out and steals away the sweet Oyl and  
 Radical Balsom of Nature, which  
 causeth a dull faintiness and wearisom  
 Indisposition to attend the whole Body  
 with great *Drought*, which proves very  
 injurious to *Health* and *Strength*: ~~4thly~~  
 All sorts of Foods are here of a weaker  
 or more unfirm Nature than those of  
 cold; and as they sooner arrive to  
 Maturity, so consequently they sooner  
 perish and corrupt.

For all which reason, it is unreason-  
 able to expect men should constantly  
 and without due intermission undergo  
 such Labour and Travel in torrid  
 Climates, as in those more temperate  
 and refrigerating. Do not hot Coun-  
 tries presently set open all the Gates  
 and secret Passages of Nature, even  
 to the very Centre? which weakens  
 and evaporates the pure subtle or vo-  
 latile Spirits, whence follows exces-  
 five

five Sweating, Drought & Faintness, whereas on the contrary, cold Climates shutting up the external Passages, drives the natural heat inward, and makes it more central, which occasions strong natural Heats and Stomachs, able to digest the firmest Foods, and in great Quantities, whence Persons there become strong, hardy and healthy; likewise most sorts of Food in cold Countries is of a firmer, stronger Nature, and generates a more vigorous Nourishment, and firmer Flesh and Fat, and their Fruits will generally keep longer good: Nor did the All-wise *Jehovah* intend or require men to work and labour so strenuously much and long in hot Climates, having in his natural Providence made no such occasion for it, because there is there no Winter, nor sharp saturnal Airs to cut off and destroy what the Summer brings forth, but Nature here is always pregnant and teeming, and displays her self in all Seasons of the year, with pleasant and fragrant Fruits,

Fruits, and prepares them to an higher degree, and fitter for present Food, though not so firm and lasting. Besides, People in hot Regions have not need of so many things, there is no occasion for their Houses being so close nor furnisht with so many Circumstances of Beds and Bedding, continual Fires, and the like Provisional accommodations to be laid up before-hand, either for Man or Beast; as also half the Clothing will turnish Nature; and the same is to be understood of Foods; for all things necessary to the Maintenance of Life are far easier, and with half the Labour procured in hot Countries. But these things our Masters never lay to heart, but lay burthen upon burthen, till we utterly sink under the weight of their Oppressions; though many of them cannot but be sensible, that they themselves, though they do little or nothing but eat and drink of the choicest Meats & Drinks, and sleep their fill without disturbance, yet

yet they are here nothing so fit  
 as able to endure Labour and rough  
 Exercises, as they have been and would  
 be in cold Countries; which Reflec-  
 tion, if they had any Bowels  
 humane Sympathy and Compassion  
 should encline them to moderate our  
 Servitude, and grant some Allowance  
 of respit and Refreshment unto us, so  
 as might enable us both more cheerfully  
 and effectually to serve them.

It is a custom amongst many of the  
 great Dons of Masters, to allow their  
 Servants little more than only a small  
 piece of Ground to raise their whole  
 Food and Sustenance from; and though  
 this be hard, yet that which renders  
 it worse, is, that they will not allow  
 us any sufficient time to manure it  
 but we must abate it out of that little  
 time which is permitted us to rest  
 otherwise, it must be done upon  
 their Sabbath day, whereon we are  
 allowed to rest from our ordinary La-  
 bours for our Masters; but if then we  
 must work as hard to manure our  
 small

small pittance of Ground, or else starve,  
I do not find what great advantage we  
have of that day more than another.

It is also an order or custom in  
some Plantations, where the Christians  
inhabit, to allow their Negroes two  
hours Rest at Noon, *viz.* from eleaven  
of the Clock till one, which is a wise and  
righteous Law; but few there are that  
will admit us above half that time,  
but hurry us again to work, which  
proves very injurious to our Healths;  
for then the Sun (which is the central  
heat of the Universe) draws near the  
Meridean, which does powerfully  
open the Pores, especially of those that  
labour hard in the scorching beams  
thereof, and exhales the Radical  
Moisture, which weakens and indis-  
poses the whole body and mind, and  
renders us unfit for the After noons  
work; for he that shall rest from  
eleaven till two, which is three hours,  
shall thereby be rendred so lively,  
lightfom and brisk, that he sha'l be  
able to perform more labour than  
another



another man of the same natural strength, that is kept to it all day long, or allowed but one hours rest only, and with much less prejudice to Nature.

This is a thing worthy to be considered by our Masters; for it would add much to their *Profit and our Health*, which is also their *Wealth*; for pray tell us, *O you brave and swaggering Christians!* who exercise this strange and severe Mastership over us, who sport your selves in all manner of superfluity and wantonness, and grow fat with our Blood and Sweat, gormandizing with the fruits procured by our *Slavery* and sore *Labour*; set by your *Rum-Pots*, your *Punch-Bowls*, your *Brandy-Bottles*, and the rest of your *Intoxicating Enchantments* for a while, and stand still a little, and suffer the cool of the day to overshadow you, and the long obstructed Fountain of Reason in your Hearts to send forth its streams, and then you will be able to tell us what heart or life, strength

or

or courage any man can have that goes to his sleep late, with half his Belly full, and it may too what he did get, was but of little Nourishment, and that unfirm, and then to be called out again as soon as 'tis light, and work hard till a eleaven or twelve a Clock, and to have neither Mistrisses nor Maids to provide you any Breakfast, and at Noon to have but one Hours rest, and a poor sorry Dinner, nothing but a few *Potato's* or *Tams*, and these without either Butter or Bread, and as soon as you have got a few of these into your Belly, to be hurried again to work in the scorching Heat, until it be dark: Tell us, I intreat you, what Liveliness or Briskness would you have if you were under such Circumstances, not for a day or two, but from Week to Week, and Moneth to Moneth, and Year to Year? Or would you be willing to be thus treated and dealt with, if you were in our condition? No, no, I am certain you would count it hard,

very hard measure, and complain loudly of Cruelty and Oppression; and will you, can you be offended and angry with us for doing no more than what you cannot but acknowledge you would do yourselves?

It may be you will say, That *Potatoes*, *Tams*, and the like, are a brave nourishing Food; And indeed so they are, yet give me leave to tell you, that they afford but a weak unfirm fading Nourishment, in comparison of many other things that are to be eaten alone, especially to People that have nothing else, and continually work hard: And for you that so cry up the Excellency of these things, which of you all would be contented to live with such Food only for one quarter of a Year, and sometimes to want that too, as you know we often do? I'll warrant you would then think it miserable fare, and be ready to Swear you should be starv'd, and yet you might much better support

part your selves therewith then we, because you live easie, or rather idle Lives in comparifon of us ; for you lie on Beds, and as long as best pleafeth your selves, and fcarce do an Hours work in a Moneth ; and if you got but to your next Neighbours to fmoke and drink, you muft have an Horfe to carry you, and a Slave to attend you ; and during all the hot time of the day, you take your Reft, or keep out of the torrid Beams of the Sun ; and if you with all thefe Advantages cannot live on bare *Yams* and *Potatoes*, how do you think we can go through with our continual hard Labour, with no other Provisions ?

The truth is, our *Slavery*, *hard Usage* and *Burthens* are greater than we can bear ; and yet if we complain, our *Remedy* is like your going to *Doctors*, when a m n is fick, or wants his *Health*, viz. worfe than the *Difeafe* ; How often are we compelled to carry heavy Burthens five

fix, seven, eight, nine or ten Miles, viz. an *hundred Weight*, or more, with one to follow us with a Whip and a Spur, until our very Heartsake, and our Limbs fail to bear us, and when we come to our Journeys end, there is *no Breakfast*, *no Mornings-Draughts*, *no Refreshment* provided for us, but only *Water*, where we can find it, so that we are forced to pilfer *Sugar*, *Malassus*, *Poultrey*, *Corn*, or any thing of that kind, and sell it to buy a little sorry stinking rotten *Fish*, or *Flesh*, to give our *Herbs* and *Roots* an *Hogo* or Taste; And then we have so many Miles to travel back, and there no Rest, but presently to work again till Night, and when we have thus moil'd and toild all day long worse then Horses, our Accomodation is worse than theirs too, for we have no Meat, no Provinder provided for us, but have our Suppers not only to dress and cook, but to get, which oft times we hazard our Lives to procure.

For our Masters and Governours make strict Ordinances, That it shall be lawful for any that take us a stealing Hens, or any other Fowls or Provisions, not only to beat and whip us at their pleasure, but also to kill us, and yet at the same time some of these godly Law-makers will force us, that is, put us upon an unavoidable Necessity, to steal Provisions from our Neighbours, by not allowing us any thing near sufficient Quantities of Sustenance, to support and relieve the Necessities of Nature, or answer the continual expence and waste of Spirits by such grievous Labours as they compel us to undergo. And yet though they make such severe Laws against us, it seems they themselves do not account Stealing in it self any Evil, for besides their daily practice of over-reaching one another in Bargains, which is but a civil way of Stealing, we remember that not very long since, six or seven of our Country-men, who were Slaves to a great

man, were taken stealing of Provisions from one of his Neighbours; he that took them did not use the rigour of the Law, that is to kill them upon the place, but very Neighbourly brings them to their Master, and complains, who ordered the Overseer to whip them soundly; which being executed accordingly, the Master commanded them to be brought before him, and there complemented them in this manner; *You Rogues! I beat and whip you not so much for Stealing, as for that you suffered your selves to be caught.* Is not this rare Christian Equity, to beat us unmercifully for that which they themselves do but Laugh at, and make a Jest of? Does this favour of the true Christian Spirit? Nay, certainly, but of the depraved Hellish Nature. This more than savage Cruelty and Oppression, proceeds without any Compassion to Age or Sex, for they have no regard to the Weaknesses, Diseases or Infirmities of our Women, nor of our dear



dear and tender Infants, they make  
 our Wives, during the time of their  
 Pregnancy, work equally with the  
 rest, even until the very day of their  
 delivery, or Birth of their Children,  
 which we can scarce call their *Lying-*  
*in*, for, alas! they have no moneth-  
 ly Nurses, nor groaning Cheese, none  
 of the Comforts of Ale, or Wine, or  
 Caudles, or rich refreshing Suppings,  
 but must be content with a few dry  
*Potatoes*, and a Caudle made with  
 stinking *Mackarel*, or Broths of un-  
 wholesom putrified Flesh, and glad if  
 they can get it; for in truth they al-  
 low them little or nothing more than  
 at other times, and but two or three  
 dayes Rest; and then they must out  
 again into the Field with their young  
 and tender Babes, and leave them  
 sprauling on the Ground, which is  
 their only Nurse and Cradle; nor  
 can they expect any Rocking, unless  
 God to punish our Masters Inhuma-  
 nity, should send an Earthquake;  
 Nay, when they cry for want of the  
 H 4 presence

presence and tendence of their Mothers, and for lack of Sustenance, our rough and churlish Overseers will hardly allow time to give them Suck.

If our Women be disordered by the natural Infirmities attending their Sex, or by the frowardness and crying of their Children, which have broken their and our short Hours of Sleep; No body comes and asks, *Forsooth! how have you rested to Night?* Nor cries, *Pray keep no Noise, she has not slept well to Night;* No, no, let the case be how it will, as soon as the Gray-ey'd Morning draws the Curtains of the Day, and the Light begins to peep from behind the Mountains of the East, the blustering Overseer blows his Horn, or Sheal, and then presently all Excuses set apart, we and our Wives must turn out with our tender Children, whether we or they be well or sick, disposed or indisposed, it matters not, to Work we must go, under the Whip and the Spur, and the Sun's scorching Beams

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all the day long, and none comes and  
desires them to eat a bit and drink  
before they go out, to prevent the  
Wind; but on the contrary, if our  
Wives never so truly plead their In-  
ability to labour thus, they find no  
Ears open to hear them with pity,  
but severe Hands and lusty Whips rea-  
dy to lay on cruel Stripes upon their  
tender and fainting Backs, and so  
they are forced to carry their Children  
with them into the Work-field, and  
suckle them there, when they can  
get an opportunity all day, and so  
lug them home again at Night, and  
have no refreshing Drinks, nor pro-  
per Foods to supply them with dry  
or moist Nourishment. These  
things, though our hard hearted  
Masters regard not, yet methinks,  
our *Mistrisses*, if not out of Christi-  
anity or good Nature, yet out  
of respect to *Woman-hood*, and their  
*own Sex*, and by a Compassion raised  
from their own experience of the dif-  
ficulties of Child-bearing, might be  
induced

induced to prevail with their Husbands to be more tender in such cases, but so far are even these counted of the softer Sex, from any such *Commiseration*, that where they alone have the sole command, as when they are left Widdows, or the like, many of them are more fierce, dogged, pinching, oppressing and severe than the men themselves.

But we are not only with unreasonable Beating, made to labour beyond our strength and abilities of Nature, but many of our Masters will not allow us Food that's sufficient, either in quantity or quality, to support and maintain Health, Strength and Vigour; so that being pined with want as well as worn out with excessive Drudgery, we oft times perish, or at least become poor, lean, feeble, and hardly able to go. For as when they do allow us Ground to plant for our Nourishment, the same is so little, as not to be half sufficient for that purpose, and so much the worse, because they

They afford us no time to Till and Im-  
 prove it ; So when they pretend to  
 give us any Food, more, than our  
 Plantation-Provisions, *viz.* either  
 Fish or Flesh, they will go to all the  
 Merchants in the Town, and dili-  
 gently inquire out, and buy the worst  
 they can lay their Hands on, *viz.*  
 stinking decayed Flesh, and rotten  
 Fish, and cry, *It is good enough for*  
*Negro's, they care not how bad it is, so*  
*they can buy it cheap* ; Some of them  
 indeed are so free that they will allow  
 us one salt *Mackarel* or two a Week,  
 but others will afford us none, which  
 lays us under a necessity either to  
 starve or Steal ; for we are reduced  
 to such Extremity, that if a Horse  
 dye, and is buried several dayes, if  
 some of our People come to know it,  
 they will dig up the putrified stink-  
 ing Carrion, and make good Chear  
 of it ; others will eat all the Cats,  
 Dogs, Rats and Mice they can lay  
 their Hands on ; So that through Ne-  
 cessity, and the depravedness of our  
 Minds,

Minds, with evil Customs, we  
immerg'd into all the Beastiality  
Uncleanness, which the *Christians*  
have never endeavour'd to regula  
or prevent, but rather the contrari  
3. these, and variety of other  
like Miseries and Oppressions, man  
of us have been brought to dispa  
and chuse a miserable sinful Death  
rather than such a wretched Li  
whence some have Hang'd, othe  
Down'd themselves, some cut the  
own Throats, and procured to them  
selves the like violent Deaths; bu  
our Blood is of no value in the sight  
of our Masters, which yet we doubt  
not but will cry unto thee O thou  
most just Creator and Governour o  
men! for Revenge upon those that  
have been the prime occasions of al  
these Evils.

For these hard Usages and Cruel  
ties do terribly awaken the central  
Wrath and sleeping Poysons of the  
Original Nature, by which means  
and provocations we become fullen  
dogged,

ogged, malicious, envious, angry  
 and revengeful, all which devilish  
 dispositions are occasioned, or much  
 increased in us by the harsh Tyranny  
 of our Masters; Hence many times  
 we neglect our Labour, run away,  
 spoil our Business, & in the anguish of  
 our *souls* continually curse our Masters  
 and their Posterity; And thence on the  
 other side, our Masters take occasion  
 to redouble their Cruel Usages to-  
 wards us, and be-labour themselves  
 to Beat and Whip us, and hang us up  
 by the Hands, Feet, and the like, and  
 to *Bastinado* us till our Bodies become  
 like a piece of raw Flesh, and we are  
 just ready to give up the Ghost: For  
 though we are, O Great Creator! the  
 Work of thy Hands, and were made  
 in thine Image, and endued with  
 rational and immortal Souls, yet we  
 are nothing more in many of our  
 Masters esteem, than *their Money*,  
 and if some of them could find out  
 a way to torment and plague us ten  
 fold more, they would do it, provided



we might still be but able to perform our Drudgery, to maintain them in Superfluity and Gluttony.

For our precious Lives are reckoned no more than those of so many Dogs, though they cannot gratify their Pallates and Paunches, nor maintain themselves in their Luxuries, and sinful Vanities, but merely by our Labours, yet on any irregular Passion or devilish Humor, some of them will sacrifice our Lives to the Fury, and neither count it Murder nor any Sin, neither did we ever hear that their Law in such Cases makes Inquisition for Blood, or punishes those that committed such Murders otherwise than by a Fine, or ordering them to pay so much Sugar for their business; as if there were any Equality, Proportion or Adequateness between such a *Crying Crime*, and such a *trifling* Punishment. Do not you Plantations which have drank up our innocent and unrevenged Blood, offer up unto the Lord, the righteous Jud

of Heaven and Earth, for Justice and Retaliation? For divers of our *Coun-try-men* have been Butcher'd this way, and little more notice taken of it than if we were Fleas or Gnats, or Wolves or Bears.

Nay, some of us have been Burnt for running away (and yet we were therein justified by the Law of Nature, for who would not escape, if he could, out of Slavery?) and this too, although their Mistresses and Masters might have sold them, to be transported elsewhere; but their Envy, Passion and Revenge was so great, that they prefer'd it before their Gain; one Widdow Woman above all the rest, (as we have heard) burned her *Negro* for running away, and saying, that, *Where-ever he met her, he would Kill her*: So when she caught him, she was Judge, Jury, Executioner, and all, though at the same time she might have sold him to be Transported to *Mevis*.

Here was (as doubtless 'tis true) Re-venge

in the highest degree! If she had only threatned him, as he threatned her, she had been even with him, but nothing would satisfie her Malice but to Roast him. O thou most just and eternal Lawgiver, and Perswader of all Creatures! Do these things taste or favour of *Christianity*? Have they any such Examples left them by thy Primitive Servants? Or did thy eternal Son, the Saviour of the World, preach any such Doctrine, or set any such Example in his meek and holy Pilgrimage on Earth? If not, by what Authority, or by what Dispensation against his divine Law do you practise these things? Is it not from the power of the Serpent and the Dragon, viz. the devilish fierce wrathful hellish Nature? Undoubtedly if they Repent not of these their cruel Crimes, though they call themselves *Christians* never so much; the *Christ of God* will say unto them, *Depart from me, I know you not, ye bloody Workers of Iniquity.*

By what right, or on what pretensions is it, O you nominal *Christians*! that you take upon you to make us your Slaves, so over-labour, half starve, beat, abuse and kill us at your pleasure? Is it because we are not of your Religion and Belief? Hath God any where given a Commission to those that profess *Christianity*, that they may, when they list, fall upon any Persons, whom they call *Heathens*, and dispossess them of their Lands, or lead them away Captive, and make Merchandize of them, and use them in all respects as Beasts, or rather much worse? This was not sure the way by which *Paul* and *Peter*, and the other good men of Old, (whom we often hear you speak of and practise) did convert our *Heathen* Ancestors to your Faith: We have heard some of our *Christian* Masters say, *That Christ*, (whom you pretend to follow as your Prophet, Lord and King) is Son of the Eternal and most Merciful

God, his Right-hand, and his eternal Love, in which he reconciles himself unto mankind, even all those that shall live in this Love-Principle, from which proceeds nothing, either of Wrath, Anger, Violence, Malice or Oppression, but altogether the contrary, as Patience, Courtesie, Good-will, Compassion, Charity, and the like, to all the World: This, if we mistake not, is the true Christian Doctrine, which most of you do acknowledge in Words. But how does this consist or agree with the Violence, Injustice and Oppressions which you exercise upon us? Or is your Religion one thing in profession, and another in practise? This we are sure of, though your Tongues may be *Christian*, your Hands are *Heathen*; nay, most times your very Language is contrary to your before-mentioned Pretensions, for how else comes it to pass that you *Rant*, and *Rave*, and *Swear*, and *Curse*, and call devilish Names so fast upon the least thing, wherein we displease your Humors.

But

But perhaps you will say, That not by virtue of your Religion, but by some super-excellent or higher Dignity of Nature above us, you claim a Right to make us your Slaves and Vassals. But pray, have you this Prerogative from your Descent or Pedigree? Or from some different Fabrick of your Bodies? Or from your extraordinary *Endowments* of Mind? As for the first, do not the Oracles of your Religion oblige you to believe, that the great God created the Man whom you call *Adam*, and that from him came all the People that ever since were, or are in the World? And if so, are we not of as good Parentage, as ancient a Family, as noble a Descent as the best of you? Ought you not then to love us as your Brethren, descended from the same common Father? or at least respect us as your Kinsmen, and of the same Lineage.

Are not our *Bodies* of as proportionable a Frame, and as well furnished with useful *Limbs*? Are not all our

*Senses* as good and quick as yours? Nay, are we not naturally obnoxious to fewer Diseases than you, though now indeed by your harsh usage our Days are often shortned, and our Health impaired; but this is not the fault of our Constitutions, but of your Severities, which bring upon us those Weaknesses and Disorders, which we were never before acquainted with: For any Exercises of Running, Leaping, Swimming, and the like, which of you can equal us? As for the *blackness* of our Skins, we find no reason to be ashamed of it, 'tis the *Livery* which our great Lord and Maker hath thought fit we should wear; Do not you amongst Furs, prize pure *Sables* as much as *Ermins*? Is *Jett* or *Ebony* despised for its Colour? Can we help it, if the Sun by too close and fervent Kisses, and the nature of the Climate and Soil where we were Born, hath tinctur'd us with a dark Complexion? Have not you variety of Complexions amongst  
your



your selves; some very *White* and *Fair*, others *Brown*, many *Smarthy*, and several *Cole-black*? And would it be reasonable that each sort of these should quarrel with the other, and a man be made a *Slave* forever, meerly because his Beard is *Red*, or his Eye-brows *Black*? In a word, if our *Hue* be the only difference, since *White* is as contrary to *Black*, as *Black* is to *White*, there is as much reason that *you* should be our *Slaves*, as we yours.

Lastly, as to our *Souls*, you dare not deny but they are *Immortal* as well as yours, consequently capable of as much Bliss and Happiness, being as well as yours, created in the Image of God, and of an heavenly Original: Have we not the same Faculties, Understanding, Memory and Will? Are we not endued with a reflex Power, whereby to condemn or approve our own Actions as they are either good or evil? Are we not, if we had the advantages of Education, altogether as docible, and

apt to learn Arts and Sciences as any of you? witness *Averues, Avicenna*, and others of our Country-men, who were famous *Physitians, Philosophers, Astrologians*, and the like. For in us as well as you, are contained the true Natures of all Elements, the Seeds of all Sciences, and an hidden Epitome of the four Worlds, *Intellectual, Rational, Elemental* and *Sensitive*.

'Tis true, we are not so ready at Words, nor so nimble to express our Conceptions, but we can more than guess at what is Just, and Fit, and Honest, and Seemly, and know what is agreeable to the dignity of humane Nature, and what not, though the *Christians* despise us by the Name of *Heathens*; we must acknowledge that we are not so well acquainted with the wordy and notional matters of Religion, nor do talk so much of it, nor keep so much ado about it, as many of the *Christians* do, for we do not Wrangle, nor Fight, nor Backbite or Hate one another for, or touching

(181)  
the Worship of God: Nor do we Kill, Burn or Imprison any for not agreeing with us, or being of our Intellectual Complexions, because God in his Wisdom has made all things to differ; many there are whose Eyes are open see into the truth of these things.

As for our Faith, touching God and Eternity, we have not much to say, neither do we ever use many Words; For we have only one Book, viz. **Our selves**, in which is contained the true Nature and Property of all things, both Internally and Externally, and happy is he that can read but the *Christ-Cross-Row* in his own Book, it is more profitable to him than a multitude of Books, cry'd up and admired by the World: And this we do know and acknowledge, that there is a good and an evil Spirit or Principle within us, one which prompts, and invites, and leads us to Good, and the other drawing us to Evil; and by the light of the good  
I 4 Principle,

Principle, we distinguish between what is Right, and the contrary; and whensoever we do Evil, we are convinced and reprov'd for it by this good Genius, whereby we are sensible that Lying, Swearing, Adultery, Idleness, Disobedience to our Masters, Burning of Houses, Murder, and the like, are Sins against God; and when at any time we commit any such things, we are accused and condemned for the same in our Hearts, though our Masters, nor any Creature else know thereof.

In short, the main Differences between the *Christians* and us, seem to be no more than these, that they are *White*, and we *Black*, because they are born in one Climate, and we in another; they have *Learning*, as Reading, Writing, speaking of various Languages, and we have none of those Ornamental Advantages; but they may please to remember that the more Paint Glass has upon it, the more it keeps out the Light; They are

are educated under certain *Rights* and *Forms*, and taught divers *Notions of Religion*, which we are not skill'd in : But the grand point of Religion, *To do as we would be done by*, we understand as well as they, and are sure they practise it less than we. What then do they talk so much of the *Leaves*, when we can see no *Fruits*? let us *feel* their *Christianity*, and see it, as well as *hear of it*, and no doubt then we shall be more in love with it.

These, I say, are the chief Differences ; for as to the natural Properties of the *Body* and *Soul*, there is but very little, setting aside Custom and Education. For as I said before, as to the Members of the *Body*, and inward Faculties, we are alike in all particulars ; neither is there any difference as to the *Soul* and *Spirit*, they are as much subject to Passions, Lusts, and irregular Affections as we, as also to Sickneses, Mortality, and all other Misfortunes ; And as your Prophet hath said, *God* (whose wonder-  
ful

(111)  
ful Works we both equally are) is no  
Respecter of Persons, but every one that  
feareth his Name, and worketh Righte-  
ousness, (according to the Measure  
and Gift he has endued every one  
with) whether Bond or Free, Jew or  
Gentile, is accepted of him. And it is  
not the Name that will justifie, but  
living in the Nature and Power of well-  
doing, according as the Creator has  
dispensed his Gifts to each Person:  
And let Christians know this as a cer-  
tain truth, that neither before, nor at  
the great Day of Reckoning, and  
when Accounts must be given, good  
Words, nor long formal Prayers will  
stand them in stead, except they have  
lived in the Nature, Power and Ope-  
ration of the good Spirit, which we  
pray, and wish they would do; and  
that they would Act what they Talk,  
and then both they and we should  
find the Benefit, to the Praise and  
Glory of God, and our own Com-  
fort: For this is without dispute, that  
since Christians do know more of God  
and

and of the heavenly Myſteries than we do, then there is the more required of them; and how they diſcharge themſelves in their Practice we cannot ſee; for ſurely they do very little or not at all live in, and under the *Chriſtian* Spirit; for that leads all that are guided by it, to love even their Enemies, to take Compaſſion, and do unto all as they would be done unto, and alſo endues it Followers with the Virtues of *Meekneſs*, *Humility*, *Self-denyal*, *Temperance* and *Purity*, and to deny all Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts.

But inſtead of theſe dictates of thy moſt holy Religion, O thou great Preſerver of men! they enſlave and oppreſs thy poor unworthy Servants, and are drunk with our Blood and Sweat; We riſe early, and lie down late, and labour beyond our ſtrength, whiſt our luxurious Maſters ſtretch themſelves on their ſoft Beds and Couches, they drink Wine in overflowing Bowls, and ſet their Brains afloat



a-boat without either *Rudder* or *Compass*, in an Ocean of other strong and various Drinks, even till they are Drunk, and vomit up their Shame and Filthiness, whilst we are allow'd nothing but Water, and now and then a little *Cowen*: They feast themselves with the fattest Lambs, and variety of rich costly Foods, and live in all Uncleanneſs and Gluttony; They have their Men-Servants, and their Maids, their Coaches and Horses to wait on them, whilst we groan under the over-grievous Burthens, and excessive Labour which they impose upon us: They wantonly consume the Encrease and Product of our heavy Pains in Riot and Voluptuousness, in Superfluity, and all kind of extravagant Viciousness; their chief *Study* and *Philosophy* being to gratifie their liquorish Palates, and insatiate Paunches, and to enslave us with many intollerable Burthens; so that their Lamps are ready to be extinguished by their Superfluity and Excess of Oyl,

whilst

whilst they make frequent and solemn  
*feasts*, (that is, offer Sacrifices, and  
 celebrate Festivals to their Idol *Belly-*  
*God-Paunch*, the Divinity which they  
 chiefly adore) and invite our rich  
 Masters and Dames, and there they  
 sit Eating and Drinking, (whether  
 they have any Appetites or no) in a  
 formal way, perhaps two or three  
 hours, inticing each other to Gor-  
 mandize and Guzzle down great  
 Quantities, and variety of rich Food  
 and strong Cordial-Drinks, not only  
 beyond the Necessities, but even the  
 power of Nature; and yet not there-  
 with content, when they have thus  
 already exceeded all bounds of Tem-  
 perance, they yet proceed to gorge  
 themselves with Wine, various sorts  
 of brave noble Fruits, Tarts, Sweet-  
 Meats, and a thousand Novelties  
 brought from forreign Regions of  
 themselves, more than sufficient for a  
 sober and temperate Meal, not con-  
 sidering the Injuries they thereby do  
 both to their Bodies and Minds, nor  
 regarding

regarding in the mean time, the  
ving condition of us their poor Slaves  
that would be glad of the Crums that  
fall from their over-spread Tables  
and yet 'tis from our fore Labour  
and grievous Sweat, and pinched  
Bellies, that what they thus wickedly  
waste upon their pampered Lusts  
is extracted.

Alas! how few of our *Christians*  
Masters, do ever consider or endeavour  
to put into practice either *Ab-  
stinence* or *Sobriety*, though their own  
Prophets and Apostles commend those  
Virtues as the surest Bulwarks and  
Fortifications against Temptations  
and Viciousness, and such as render  
the Body pleasant and healthful, fit to  
discharge all its Functions, and pre-  
pares the Mind to be the Temple of  
the Lord. But these are things too  
sublim for our gorbellied *Christians* to  
consider of, when a number of them  
gather themselves together to the  
Burial of a Swine, which they will  
Roast (or burn) it whole, and then  
bury

bury it in their ungodly Paunches,  
and make them swim in their foolish  
Hogshead, accompanied with *drunken*  
*Healts*, and *roaring Huzza's*, where  
one or two of these *Epicurean* swear-  
ing roaring *Christians* will destroy in  
Superfluity as much as an hundred of  
us poor Vassals can get with our hard  
and sore Labour.

But why, O ye *Christians*! do you  
thus violate the Commands of our  
Creator, and withstand, and walk  
contrary to the pure innocent Laws  
of Nature, and by your *Intemperances*  
and *Oppressions* contemn the great  
Law of Love, and doing unto all  
their fellow Creatures as they would  
be done unto: Consider these things  
impartially, and count us no longer  
*Dogs*, nor hide the Pearl any longer  
in your ungodly Earth, and be as stu-  
dious and careful to look for it, and  
find it, as you have carelessly lost it,  
and you shall see and know the Errors  
of your wayes; and above all, know  
this, that every Master must give an  
Account

Account of his Stewardship to the grand Master of Heaven and Earth, and that there must be Retaliation made, either in this World; or the World to come.

But alas! what likelihood or hopes are there of our Relief, Ease, or Refreshment from those *Oppressions* and *Burthens* under which we languish, when these we complain of are become so unnatural, that they deal as hardly and cruelly with their own Seed, even the Fruit of their own Loins, as with us? For do not our Masters, to gratifie their raging Lusts, sometimes take our Women, and make them their Concubines, viz. either our Wives, or our Daughters, which best pleaseth them, (For *Adultery* is accounted no greater a Crime amongst many of them than *Fornication*, & both of them but *Venial Sins*, *Tricks of Youth*, or *Modish Gallantries*) upon whom they beget mungril Children, that are neither White nor Black, but between both, which

which therefore are called *Moldsto's*,  
 and when these poor Women in  
 compliance with such their brutish  
 Heats, have conceived by them, and  
 brought forth, yet the Fathers, being  
 without natural Affection, though  
 they are their own Seed, do expose  
 them, and make them perpetual  
 Slaves, both they and their Posterity.  
 Now what can be more hellish Cru-  
 elty, or greater Baseness, then for  
 men to afflict their own Seed, to be-  
 get Children in their Drunkenness  
 and Paroxysms of Lust, and then not  
 to care what becomes of them; nay,  
 to make themselves Authors of their  
 Miseries as well as of their Being,  
 and instead of providing for, and well  
 Educating them, to enslave and ty-  
 rannize over them, and leave them  
 in that wretched condition to all Ge-  
 nerations: Where cannot sure be a  
 greater Sin against Gods pure Law  
 in Nature; Do not the whole Hosts  
 of the four Worlds condemn this,  
 and will not the very Beasts of the  
 Earth

Earth rise in Judgment against such vile hard hearted Wretches, and Nature disown and spue them out as abominable?

8 For as the Cruelties and Oppressions of our Masters are *our Plagues* at present, so they will certainly draw down Judgments on *themselves* in time, if not prevented by Repentance and Reformation; for their Violence awakens the center of dark Wrath, both in the internal and external Nature, and by a secret and sympathetical Power these awakened poysonous Properties do strongly excite the malignant Influences of the *Celestials*, and attract their *Male Configurations*; for every particular Quality in *Nature* has a Key in it self to open the Gate of its own Principle, whence proceed many Calamities, according to the degree of the Sin or Evil committed, there being a certain Secret (by powerful sympathy) between the *Celestial* and *Terrestrial* Bodies, by and through whose evil Influences mutually work



ing on each other, *Plagues* and *Vengeance*, and *Calamities* are engendred; as on the other side, by their benigne Influences sweetly clasping and embracing each other in *Harmony*, *Peace* and *Plenty*, *Health* and *Security* do proceed.

For this cause it is in point of *Self-Interest*, a thing of dangerous Consequence for our *Christian Masters* to be so severe towards us; for the groaning of him that suffereth Pain and Torment, is the beginning of Trouble and Misery to him that is the cause thereof. And it would be well for them, and happy for us poor Vassals, if our Masters would but be so sober as to consider, and be sensible of this Truth, that their fierce *Wrath*, *Violence*, and *Oppressions* to us, do clearly demonstrate that the *poisonous Wrath* is awakened, & does predominate in them, so that let them call themselves by what name or title they please, *His Servants they are whom they obey*; the *dark fierce Spirit* has overcome the

good Genius in their Soul, and all the  
 pure Virtues, as *Temperance, Com-  
 passion, Fellow-feeling, Courtesie, Hu-  
 manity, Justice and Charity*, are clapt  
 under Hatches, just as we were when  
 we were brought Captive out of  
*Gambey*, into the Land of Bondage.  
 And then this irritated Wrath, or  
 poisonous Spirit, does powerfully  
 penetrate all *Elements and Bodies*, and  
 where ever it finds matter capable or  
 disposed to receive its malignant  
 Rayes they incorporate; For the  
*All wise Creator* has endued every  
 thing in all the four Worlds with an  
 attractive and influential Virtue; and  
 therefore the Sons of men by their  
*Uncleaness, Violence and Oppressions*  
 do first awaken and stir up the wrath-  
 ful Spirit in themselves, which  
 kindles the Wrath in the *Celestial  
 Bodies*, and attracts their ill Influences;  
 and if whole Nations or Countries live  
 in the irritated Wrath, then there are  
 showered down Epidemical Diseases,  
 as *Pestilente, War, Famine*, and the like,

all according to the nature of the Evils committed, or Properties of Nature that were awakned.

The same is to be understood when any particular Person or Family has awakned the *poysonous Wrath*, it doth powerfully attract the male Influences, whence Sickness, waste of Estate, and many other great Troubles & Miseries, both to the Body and Mind follow; the truth of this daily Experience doth testifie; how many of our great Masters have by their *Vitiousness, Uncleaness, Intemperance, Violence and Oppressions* both to Man and Beast, whom they have had the Government over, fallen into great Disorders, Distempers, Losses, Crosses, Troubles and Vexations, so that their Children that were kept so fine and choice, that they would hardly suffer the Air to blow on them, or their Legs to carry them whilst they lived in Prosperity, are many of them come to nothing; some forced to work hard for their Bread, others

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have

have taken worse Courses, and have been immaturally cut off.

'Tis true, the Evils both private and publick are sometimes more tolerable, also the good Life and Prayers of some sober People that live in a Town or Country, do interpose, and in some degree withstand or mitigate the poysonous kindled Wrath, so that the Judgment is sometimes deferred, and with-holden, as for two or three Ages, according to the degrees of the awakned Evils, and the intermingled Virtues.

Therefore since we have obtained the favour to plead our own Cause, we will be bold to tell our Masters, that these things cannot be otherwise, it being the eternal Law of God in Nature, that whatever *Evil, Violence or Oppression* is committed, either by Superior or Inferior, if not repented of, there must be a time of Retaliation either in this World, or that to come, according to the Nature of the  
**Evil;**

Evil; for as there is such an Affinity between man and man, that they can move each other either to Love or Hate, so there is a proportionate Similitude between him and the *Caelestial Bodies and Elements*, Man being not only the Image and Likeness of God and Nature, but the *Horizon* of both Worlds, in whom the superior and inferior Natures are conjoyned, and have their Intercourse; for he is the O.F-spring of the Stars, as well as the Sun of the Earth.

Therefore let us praise and magnifie the Lord, Creator of this wonderful Nature, which is surpassing humane Understanding and Number; For there is no Religion or form of Worship in the World so noble and well-pleasing to him, as for mankind to imitate him by living in, and under the power of the eternal Principle of his *Light and Love*, which will lead all that hearken to the Voice of *Wisdom* into all Innocency and Well-doing, and thereby as naturally at-

tract or draw down the sweet and pleasant Virtues out of all things, as the *Loadstone* doth Iron.

But on the contrary, our Masters have built their *Babel*, and fortified themselves with the Poysons of *Saturn*, and Fierceness of *Mars*, and made *Gluttony* their *Trade*, and *Violence* their *Study*, whence proceed all our Miseries and Oppressions, which at long-run recoyl back upon themselves with Interest, destroying all their peace of Mind, health of Body, and outward Estates. For are not most of those that thus violate our *Creator's* Law in Nature, miserably afflicted with many cruel Diseases, as the *Stone*, *Collick*, *windy Distempers*, *Palsies*, *Cramp*, *Leprosies*, *Kings-Evils*, *Gout*, *dry Belly-Aches*, *Dropsies*, *Consumptions*, and an hundred other Evils of this Nature, which they also intail on their Posterity; so also are they plagued with Vexations and Discords between Man and Wife, and with disobedient and rebellious Children;

Children; *Rot* and *Murrain* amongst  
 their Cattel, their Crops blasted or  
 spoiled by unseasonable Weather,  
 Losses and Disappointments in their  
 Trading, even to the consumption  
 of their Estates; All which are the  
*Judgments of God*, and just Rewards  
 that follow *Oppression*, *Violence* and  
*Cruelty*, and of spending the Blood  
 and Sweat of their poor Slaves in su-  
 perfluous Wantonness; for they make  
 nothing to squander away Talents in  
 Courtly Vanities, and value not  
 Money in the way of *Gluttony*, then  
 it shall go by whole Sale: But if a  
 poor Slave breaks but a *Glass*, or mis-  
 carries in any little inconsiderable  
 thing, then presently the *livid Poison*  
 of *Saturn* is raised, and the flaming  
*Thunder-bolts of Mars* are let fly in the  
 greatest Fury and Fierceness imagi-  
 nable, and the best word that comes  
 out of their Mouth, is, *Dog*, *Devil*,  
*damn'd Dog*, *Bitch*, and the like hel-  
 lish Expressions, not to mention their  
*horrid Oathes*, *Curses* and *Exclamations*,  
 which



which lewd Words are followed by *inhumane Blows*; for they fall upon us with *Whip and Spur* till the Blood come, and we are almost killed with their Cruelty.

And though they boast, and speak excellent things of the *Christian-Religion*, and condemn us for being ignorant of it; yet 'tis plain they never design that we should know and embrace it; for why else do they make it loathsome in our Eyes, by acting so contrary to its *Genuine Nature and Principles*? Why do they dress up that which is the *greatest Beauty*, and the most *amiable* thing in the World, in the shape of a frightful deformed *Hag*, or terrible *Fury*, that seems good for nothing but to *Bite and Scratch*, and *Prog for its Paunch*, and wallow in Uncleanneſs like a Swine? Were they in earnest, or desirous to make us *Christians*, and save our *immortal Souls*, they would remove out of our way all *Stumbling-Blocks* of Scandal, & draw us with the  
Cords

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Words of Love and Meekness; they  
would set us Examples by their blame-  
less Lives, and holy Conversations,  
they would be at pains and charge to  
teach us the Foundation Principles of  
*Christian Religion*, and to read the  
*Bible*, and would in those, and other  
Exercises of *Virtue* and *Piety* bring up  
our little Ones: But so far are they  
from any of this, that they act the  
direct contrary, and desire and en-  
deavour to keep us *Heathens*, that we  
may continue their *Slaves*, and there-  
by are Guilty not only of oppressing  
our Bodies, but (as much as in them  
lies) of *damning our Souls*.

But our God is more merciful, and  
expects a Return but proportionable  
to the Talent he hath intrusted; his  
Ways are the Paths of Love, and all  
his Out-goings are Compassion; he  
hath not left us without a guide,  
even a Light shining in a dark place,  
to the conduct whereof, if we give  
heed, we shall do well.

Nor

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Nor do we in this Complaint  
tend to tax all our *Christian* Masters  
for we must acknowledge that there  
are some few of them more Just and  
Merciful unto us; for though under  
them we labour hard, yet we have  
our Food in some order, both as to  
Quantity and Quality, and have a  
decent Rest, which gives us Life and  
Vigour in our occasions; neither do  
they lay upon us Burthens greater  
than we can bear; besides, they do  
often speak kindly to us, which chears  
and comforts our Hearts and Spirits;  
they call us no evil Names, which  
is well liking unto us; They allow us  
the usual time each day to rest in, and  
eat our Food; They treat our Wo-  
men more kindly, and allow them  
better Accomodations, when they  
bring forth their young Ones: And  
though sometimes some of this better  
sort, will command our young Wo-  
men to be their *Concubines*, yet then in  
such cases, if they prove with Child,  
they will have some regard to their  
own

Seed, and respect to the Women: and it is also observable, that all such deal any thing gently, and with Moderation and Compassion towards Slaves, are generally blessed with the Blessing of Heaven, and with considerable Profits, and their Men and Women Servants, and Cattel, do stand to Health, and thrive; for by their well-doing, though it be but as it were by halves, they attract some of the sweet Influences, both of the Superior and inferior Worlds, and go not without a Reward; which might teach all our Masters to imitate that course, and use Pity, Good-will and Equity in their dealings with us, whereby they would not only preserve a good Conscience void of Offence, which is the greatest and most durable Riches on this side the Grave, but also might increase their outward Wealth, by saving them in their Purchases one, two, three or four Hundred Pounds per Year, in the buying of Slaves.

For the Tyranny, ill Usage and Improvidence of the generality may further appear by the great Numbers of our Country-men and Women that are brought every Year to *America*, and the Isles thereabouts, which shews the vast Consumption or Destruction that is made of us in those parts; we shall only give one Example; in the small Island of *Barbadoes* there are supposed to be commonly resident, *forty* or *fifty* Thousand of our Country-People, that are *Slaves*; and though we have our Custom of *Plurality of Wives*, and are naturally as fruitful as most Nations, yet *our Offspring* will not maintain the Number, but they are forced yearly to bring in by Shipping, several *Thousands* more of our Country-men, as *fresh Supplies*, and to maintain the *old Stock* or Number; so that it looks like the *Fields of Mars*, where often *Recruits* are required to supply the place of the *slaughtered Soldiers*. Now would not any rational man conclude,

conclude, that if *One Thousand Men* and *One Thousand Women*, (most of them young, and capable of Generation) lived in a seperated place or Isle, where they want for no Conveniencies, for a matter of ten or twenty Years, who, (I say) could but in reason expect these two Thousand to be multiplyed at least to four Thousand, or more, and that they would encrease so fast as to grow rather Superfluous and Super-numerary, than that there should be any occasion to purchase more at dear Rates, from remote Regions: For thus it usually happens in other parts of the World, as *England*, (which is the Country of many of our *Christian Masters*) does not it spare every Year great Numbers of Men, which of late Years have settled several *Colonies*, and peopled divers Countries and Islands in *America*, which are like to become very numerous, and yet still their own Country rather over-stockt, than wanting of men to carry on their Affairs;

Affairs; besides, there come thence  
 great Numbers of Young men, as  
*Factors, Sea-men, Soldiers,* and others  
 that daily are transported by Troops,  
 many of whom never return again.  
 And how many Thousands of Wo-  
 men might *England* spare yearly  
 of whom many that are fit and ca-  
 pable of Generation, are never mar-  
 ried; and others, through want of  
 good Husbands in time, or to please  
 their Parents humours, or for base  
 Lucre, marry Old, and have no Issue,  
 and yet still *England* wants no People,  
 but (as we have heard) is able to  
 spare two or three hundred Thou-  
 sand on a good occasion; And why  
 might not we in *America* increase and  
 multiply proportionably, were it not  
 for those violent Oppressions, and  
 harsh Usages, which our Masters  
 afflict us with, whereby we are de-  
 stroyed before our time? And is it  
 not a strange, & an unheard of thing,  
 that a fourth or fifth part every Year  
 should dye, and be made away with,  
 more



more than there are born? Or can there be a more undeniable Evidence of the *Cruelty* exercised upon us, occasioning this extraordinary *Mortality*, and the *immature Deaths* of such great Numbers of us yearly? And though nothing can be more against our Masters Interests, since their chief Wealth consists in their Servants, yet the *devilish Wrath* has such power over them, that they will not forbear their Oppressions, though to their own *Detriment*, as well as our *Destruction*.

Therefore despairing of Relief from them, To thee, O thou most merciful Creator! we address our Complaints; it is thou alone who canst put a Period to our Miseries! Let our Cries come unto thee, for we are the Works of thine Hands, though now become Slaves to unreasonable men: Molify our Masters obdurate hearts, and endue them with true Understanding and Christianity indeed, as well as Name, and then shall we and our Posterity have ease from these entollerable Burthens, & with enlarged Hearts, and loud Songs of Joy in our Mouths, celebrate thy Praise, who art both our Creator and Redeemer. Amen! Amen!

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A  
DISCOURSE

In way of Dialogue,

Between an

*Ethiopean* or *Negro-Slave*

And a

CHRISTIAN,

That was his *Master* in *America*.

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The Third Part.

---

*Master.* **C**ome hither, *Sambo!*  
you look as grave-  
ly to day as a *Dog*  
*Out-law'd*, or a *Justice of Peace* set  
in the *Stocks*; I doubt you have been  
doing some *Rogury*; I call'd you to  
make

make us *some Sport*, let us see one of your *Dances*, such as are used in your own Country, with all your odd Postures and Tricks, for Diversion; I have heard you are the best at it of all my People.

Slave. *Boon Master!* If you will have me Dance upon mine Head, or Caper on the top of the House, I must do it, though I break my Neck; for you are become Lord both of my *Feet*, and every part of me, but I fear I shall not be able at present to answer your Expectation handsomely, I am so much out of humour, and unfit for *Feats of Activity*.

*Master.* Why? What's the matter Sirrah! I'll warrant, you have been frolicking so long amongst your Companions, that now you'll pretend you are *Weary*.

Slave. Truly, Sir! this being the *only Day* in the Week you spare us from hard labour, and allow us for Recreation, we do a *Sundayes* amongst our selves, endeavour to forget our

Slavery, and skip about, as if our Heels were *our own*, so long sometimes, till our Limbs are almost as weary with that, as with working; But that is not my present case, for I have been walking all alone several hours upon the Shoar, viewing that prodigious heap of Waters, that with roaring Waves continually beat upon this little Island, and sometimes casting up my Eyes to that *glorious Eye of Heaven*, which (they say) at one view beholds half the World, I could not satisfy my self which was the greatest Wonder; so that the Contemplation of them *both* together, has fill'd my Brains with abundance of strange Conceits, and made me very Dull and Melancholly.

*Master.* And what, I pray, might be the Result of our *wise Worships* speculations?

*Slave.* I had a thousand different Notions offered themselves to my Mind, and amongst the rest, I was thinking, what if the *Sun* should

*forget to Rise to morrow Morning,*  
whether your Man, (our *Over-seer*)  
would make him get up, as he does  
us, by *blowing his Horn*? Or else how  
we should do to work in the Dark?  
Or if the Sea should swell a little  
higher, and wash the tops of your  
*Sugar-Canes*, I might not then law-  
fully swim Home to my own Coun-  
try, without being beaten to a Jelly  
for a *Run-away*?

*Master.* Out you *Rogue*! Are these  
your Contemplations? nothing but  
studying Mischief to your Master?  
Your *Bones* shall presently pay for the  
busie Idleness of your Brains, and the  
*Sauciness* of your Tongue.

*Slave.* O *boon Master*! I beseech  
you be not angry, I meant no harm  
in the World: This is a Day on  
which you do not *Work*, & therefore I  
hope you will not *Fight*, which I con-  
ceive is ten times worse; for I had  
rather *work* all the *Sunday*, then be  
*beaten* once: If you will be pleased  
to lay by your huge Cudgel, and

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vouchsafe to answer me a few harmless Questions, I doubt not but I shall divert you as much to your satisfaction, as if I had danc'd two Hours.

*Maſt.* Though you are an *Impudent*, yet since you seem to be an *ingenious Raskal*, I am content (for once) to hear your Prate: What is your wise Question?

*Sl.* I desire first you would lay that frightful Cudgel a little further off, and then begging Pardon for the Presumption, since this is the Day you observe to *serve God* in, I would crave leave to be a little instructed touching that Service, and wherein it consists.

*Maſt.* Why? It consists in being *Christians*, as we are--- But what should I talk to such a dark ignorant *Heathen*, scarce capable of *common Sense*, much less able to understand things of such an high and mysterious Nature.

*Sl.* I confess we are poor silly dark ignorant Creatures, and for ought

I find, so are many of the *Baccharo's* \* too, as well as we; but that you may not grudge your Time or Pains, I will assure you, that I will attend very seriously to what you say, and possibly may prove somewhat more docible than some of our Complexion; For I was the Son of a *Phitisbeer*, that is, a kind of *Priest* in our Country and Way; he was also a *Sophy*, and had studied the Nature of things, and was well skill'd in *Physick* and natural *Magick*, I have heard him often discourse of a *great and mighty Beeing*, (greater far, and *brighter* too than either *Moon* or *Sun*) which framed both *Land* and *Sea*, and all the glittering *Glories* of the *Skie*; and he was wont to say, *Men were the Children of the great King, who if they were good, would take them up* (but I think it was after they were dead here) *into spangled Regions, where they should do no Work, nor endure any*

\* So the *Negro's* in their Language call the *Whites*.



*Pain, nor Fight one with another, but remain in Joy and Peace, and Happiness.*

'Tis so long ago, that I was taken from him and sold hither, that I have forgot much of his *Talk*, and yet I remember some of his *Skill*, whereby I have Cured several of my Countrymen since I came hither, of Diseases, that your Doctors could not help, either so surely or so suddainly.

*Mast.* I have heard something of your suecess that way, and since thou art the Son of an *Heathen-Philosopher*, and pretendest to more *Wit* than the rest of thy *Fellow-Brutes*, what is it thou wouldst be at?

*Sl.* Sir! I desire to be informed, what a *Christian* is, or ought to be.

*Mast.* Though I think it will be to as little purpose, as to go about to wash thy *Skin* white, to inform such dark *stupid Heathens* as you are; nevertheless I shall endeavour to gratifie your Curiosity.

*1<sup>st</sup>*; He that is a *Christian*, ought to believe that God made the *World*, and all things therein. *Sl.*

Sl. O then, Master! I am a *Christian*, for I believe that as well as you.

*Mastr.* Hold your Tongue, there go many other things to make a *Christian* besides that; for he must also know and believe, that Man being thus made, did by transgressing the *Law* of his Maker, fall from that good and perfect State, wherein he was made, into a sinful estate, and thereby was liable to the *Wrath of God*, and so to be *Damn'd* forever, or suffer everlasting Punishment. But God out of the unspeakable Riches of his *Grace* and *Goodness* to his Creatures, thus become miserable, determined in his own secret Counsel, and in fulness of time did actually send down his most beloved and eternal Son, *Jesus Christ*, to take upon him mans Nature, who after a most unspotted exemplary Life, and laborious Preaching the good *Tidings* of *Remission of Sins* to all that should believe in him, and enduring many Persecutions

Persecutions and Affronts here on Earth, was at last *put to Death* without the Gates of *Jerusalem*, by the cruel Hands of the *Jews*, and being buried, *rose again to Life* the third day, and ascended into Heaven; by which Death of his, he satisfied the Wrath of God for the Sins of the whole World, as the Scripture witnesseth.

Sl. If Jesus Christ dyed for the Sins of the whole World, or satisfied God's wrath for the Sins of *All Mankind*, then we that you call *Heathens* may justly challenge equal priviledge with your selves.

*Mastr.* O no, you do not believe in his Name, nor observe his Commands and Precepts.

Sl. As how I pray?

*Mastr.* You are not *Baptized* in the Name of the *Holy Trinity*, nor do believe the *Merits of Christ's satisfaction*, or that he hath taken away your Sins.

Sl. This is a brave Religion, that by the Death and Suffering of one, all men

men that in after Generations believe this, shall have their Sins pardon'd, and be blest with eternal Happiness.

*Mast.* Still, *Sambo* ! you are *too quick*, there is more required then a bare Faith; or verbal Belief that such a thing was done, *Christ* is our *Prophet* to teach us, and our *King* to rule us, as well as our *Saviour* to redeem us; They must yield Obedience, and do a *Christian's* Duty, that shall have an Interest or Benefit by his Death.

Sl. I pay then tell me the duty of a *Christian*.

*Mast.* The Gospel of Christ, or the Doctrine which he taught; and we profess, instructs and requires us; 1<sup>st</sup>, To *fear the Lord* that created all things. 2<sup>dly</sup>; To be *Merciful*, and do unto all men, as we would be done unto. 3<sup>dly</sup>; To be *Sober* and *Temperate* in Meats, Drinks and Exercises, mortifying the *Lusts of the Flesh*, and avoiding all kind of Superfluity, that so we may not waste or abuse the good Creatures of God.

4<sup>thly</sup>;

4thly; To avoid evil Communication, because it corrupts good Manners, and vain Words, but especially wicked Ones. 5thly; To observe the Rules of Purity, and abstain from all appearance of Evil, both in Words and Works. 6thly; To free our selves from Envy, Strife, Malice, Back-biting and Slander; not to accuse men behind their Backs of what they will not speak to their Faces, or cannot prove. 7thly; Not to judge of things we understand not, lest we be judged; nor condemn those things of which we have no certain Knowledge or Experience. 8thly; To be sensible that the Lord by his all-seeing-Eye and divine Principle, beholds all our Wayes, and that to him there is nothing hidden. 9thly; To believe and know for a certain truth, that the Lord will Retaliate and Reward every one according to his Works. 10. To live according to the Gospel and divine Principle, by denying all Ungodliness and worldly Lusts, and Uncleaness, as Whoredom,

*Whoredom, Adultery, filthy Speaking; yea, even all unchaste Desires, for so our Lord teacheth us, That he that looketh on a Woman, and lusteth after her, commits Adultery.* 11. To regulate our Passions and Affections, and to abandon all *Wrath, Anger, Malice, Envy*, vain or immoderate hopes, as also despair, and all perturbations of Mind; to shun and avoid *Covetousness*, (that Root of Evil) *Pride, Ambition*, and all *Uncharitableness*; And on the contrary, to walk *Humbly*, and *Meekly* towards God, and towards man, and to practise *Patience, mutual Forbearance, Moderation, Kindness*, and *Commiseration* in all our wayes.

12. That we be not too confident, nor conceited of our selves, or our own knowledge, but to have regard to the Lord in all our Thoughts, Imaginations and Conclusions, and in every thing to have an Eye to his Providence. 13. To return God the *Praise and Glory* of all the good things we enjoy, as *Health, Strength,*

Food

*Food, Rayment, Knowledge, Understanding,* and the like, acknowledging them all to be the free Gifts of his Bounty; and when we are in any want, trouble, distress or danger to *relie* upon the same God for help, succour and relief, and with earnest, hearty and faithful *Prayers*, to implore the same of him only. 14. To be merciful to all the inferior Creatures, and to use them gently, and with Moderation, avoinding all kind of *Oppressions, Violence, hard Heartedness or Cruelty*, either to Men or Beasts.

These, *Sambo*, are some of the Principles or Rules of the *Christian Religion*, the Doctrine which it teacheth, and the Practices it requires.

Negro. *Master Christian!* I give you a thousand hearty Thanks for this account of your *Religion & Philosophy*, which no doubt is the best and noblest of all others: Therefore if these be your Christian Principles, I am already a *Disciple*; but I beseech you  
be



be in good earnest, and tell me the truth.

*Mast.* I do assure thee, they are the Principles of our Lord, Christ, the Son of the living God, that he preached to the World when he was on the Earth, and which his Apostles recommended, and left them on Record in the *Bible*; and which he still continues to Preach by his Spirit in the Hearts of all that are his.

*Negr.* Since these things are so, I cannot but at once be surprized, and as it were amazed, with two different Objects of Wonder.

*Mast.* What are they, prethee?

*Negr.* First, I admire the *Excellency of your Doctrine*, and the *wonderful Mystery* contained therein; it undoubtedly surpasseth all other Religions in the World, as much as the Sun's Light doth that of a *Glow-Worm*: It seems to me to be an *open Gate* into *Paradise*, and a *Leaf* of the *Tree of Life*; so agreeable to the Nature and Glory of the *great God*,  
so

so fuitable to the condition of *weak Man*; no wise Person can make any scruple of the things you have delivered, they command assent; for they proceed from a *true Root*.

But then I cannot but also much wonder and admire that you *Christians* live and walk so wide from, and *contrary* unto all those undeniable Truths, and holy Rules, so that what you preach with your *Tongues*, you pull down with your *Hands*, and your daily Conversation gives the Lye to your Profession.

*Mast.* You now grow *Savvy* thus to upbraid us; we have indeed *our Failings*, but I hope we do not walk so *Retrograde* as you talk of: What Instances can you produce to maintain so general a Charge?

*Negr.* I intended not to *upbraid* you, but to satisfy my self, for perhaps you may have *some Reason* that I do not know of, why you *act contrary* to what you teach; nor do I say that all, and *every Christian* does so, there

there may be Hundreds and Thousands that *I* am not acquainted with, and there are some that *I* know, of whom *I* cannot say, but that in a very great measure they live according to that righteous Doctrine; but for the generality or major part, *I* must say, That in all, and every of the aforesaid Points by you mentioned, the whole Tenour of their Ways, and the continual Practice of their Lives, is directly contrary to the same: And since you command me to instance Particulars, *I* shall endeavour it in some of the chief.

1. You say, that Christian Religion teacheth to *Fear the Lord*, that created Heaven and Earth: The truth of this we make no doubt of; but how can we believe, that *very many* who go under the Name of *Christians* do obey this Voice of Wisdom, since they so lightly and vainly use the *Name of God* in their Trifling, and wicked Talk, and boldly Swear by it (and that for the most part *falsely* too)

in their ordinary Conversation, contrary to his exprefs Commands; nay, not a few, will commonly challenge the great God to *Damn* or *Confound* them, with divers other Blasphemies; And do you call this *Fearing the Lord*?

2. To be *Merciful*, and do as you would be done by, you in the next place assign, as a grand and important point of *Christianity*; but where shall we find it? We cannot perceive any thing of *Mercy* to dwell in your Hearts; for you commit *Oppression* with *Violence*; and that which you call *Trade* or *Traffick* (as 'tis manag'd amongst you) is little better than an *Art of Circumventing* one another; and you practise all sorts of *Cruelty*, not only on the inferior Creatures, but also on thole of your *own Kind*, else what makes us your *Slaves*, and to be thus *Lorded* and *Tyrannized* over by you? In a word, not only *We*, but the whole Creation groans under your heavy Burthens; & yet you tell us of your *Mercy* and *good Nature*,  
and

and boast of your Christian *Charity*.

3. You acknowledge, this divine Religion requires of you to be *Sober* in Meats and Drinks; &c. and not to indulge Nature with things Superfluous: But does it not appear by your Conversation, that you never regard its Counsel, since your Wayes are directly opposite? Do not we see it a common Practice amongst the *Christians*, to drink to *Drunkenness*, and eat to *Superfluity* and *Gluttony*? & even of those that seem most reserved, scarce any, that have wherewithal, but will *indulge themselves* great variety of rich compounded Foods, and Cordial-Drinks, that contain too great Nourishment, beyond not only the *Necessities*, but even the *Power* of Nature, and the *digestive Faculty* of the Stomach, which produces many evil Effects; for besides the waste of the good Creatures, and a most *Ungrateful* abuse of the Creator's Mercies, it heats the *Blood*, makes it thick, hot and sharp, and causeth all the Mem-

bers to glow with an unnatural Heat,  
 makes both the Body and Mind un-  
 easie, and disables each of them from  
 performing its Offices as it ought, and  
 also sets open the *Gates of Venus* to  
 many lewd Practices: And thus in  
 defiance to the Laws of your Reli-  
 gion, and to his own Personal hurt,  
 one great *over-grown Christian* shall  
 spend as much in *one Day*, to gratifie  
 his Lusts or Vanity, as an *Hundred or*  
*Two* of his poor *Slaves* can get by their  
 sore Labour and Sweat. And as for  
*Exercises*, there is rarely here in this  
 Island any of the *Christians* that will  
 labour, except pure Necessity con-  
 strain them to it, but you *lay heavy*  
*Burthens* on us, and as your most illu-  
 minated Prophet, saith, *will not touch*  
*them your selves with one Finger*. So  
 that you make it a *Genteel Quality*,  
 and honourable, to break and violate  
 that great Command of the Creator in  
 the beginning, which I have heard is  
 recorded by a most famous Prophet  
 of the *Jews*, and whom you also re-  
 ceive,

ceive, viz. *That Man should get his Bread by the Sweat of his Brows*; which yet amongst the more *Noble Christians*, as you call your selves, is counted a *poor, low, Base and shameful* thing.

What *Heathen People* (as you call them) are there in the whole World, that more *pamper their Carkasses*, and indulge themselves like you, with things that are not needful, nor convenient? Do you not invent an hundred Superfluities and needless *Toys*, to gratifie your own, and your Childrens *Pallates and Sensuality*? the Wind, forsooth! must not blow upon them; and as if the Earth were not good enough to bear them, nor their Legs made to carry them, you provide *Horses and Coaches* for them, or we poor *Slaves*, must lugg them about, who are as well able to go as we. For your *Garments, Houses, Furniture, &c.* who can exceed your *Pride, and Vanity*? One of your Women shall wear at once as much in value



as would clothe an hundred poor People in modest Rayment, each far better than hers, to defend them from the Injuries of the Elements, which is the chief end of Cloathing: Add to this, your great *Palaces*, and sumptuous chargeable Buildings, and all kind of rich superfluous Ornaments, and *Knick-Knacks* in your Houses, wherein you study to out-try and exceed each other, meerly for *State, Pride* and *vain Glory*, and to be honoured of men; which extravagancy is attended with another sore Evil, for that it *cannot be maintained* but chiefly by *great Oppression* of Men and Beasts; for those that spend Talents daily, must lay about them for a continual Supply, so that rather then they will be without those chargeable Vanities, they care not how cruelly they use their Servants, and inferior Creatures; They will scourge their *Slaves* for a *Penny*, and kill their Beasts with over-labour, and at the same time spend *Pounds* in base depraved

depraved Wantonness, and feasting of the Rich, &c.

4. You mention the avoidance of *Evil Communications*, as another duty of your Religion, which we *Heathens* do acknowledge, and therefore we have a Proverb amongst us, when any use lewd Discourse, to bid them, *Wash their Mouthes with Water*; but we have observed, that amongst the *Christians* there is nothing more frequent than *Evil Communications*, whensoever any Number meet together, are not your Discourses *vain, idle and frothy*, and oft-times such as no *modest Ear* can hear without tingling forth Horror and Indignation? Most of it tending to Debauchery, or injuring the good Name of Persons absent, *Jesting, Lying, Vapouring*, or speaking of Things and People they understand not, nor have any thing to do withal; Nay, a man cannot pass the Way or Street, but his Ears shall be grated with horrid *Swearing*, and *ungodly Speeches*, so that 'tis evident

you walk in the greatest opposition imaginable to his command.

5. You say, *You are required to observe Purity, and the natural Rules of Cleanness, and to avoid all appearance of Evil*: Which indeed is no inconsiderable point in Nature and Religion, but as far as we have been able to observe, you practise the quite contrary; for not only your Words are very unclean for the generality, but also in your *Foods and Drinks* you make no distinction, but rich provoking Food in excess, and all strong intoxicating Drinks, you desire with greedness, which over-heats the whole Body, and irritates the fierce wrathful beastial Nature, whence all *wanton, vain and unclean Thoughts and Imaginations* are generated: Also, you make as little distinction between clean and unclean *Beasts* as we, nay, not so much as some of our Country-men; and you eat *Blood*, though I have been told there is not any one thing more frequently, expressly and plainly forbidden

bidden in all your *Bible* than that;  
 besides, you make no distinction of  
 the Times and Seasons of the Year,  
 when Beasts are subjects to Surfeits,  
 and other Uncleanneſſes; neither are  
 your Preparations and cooking of  
 your Food ſo clean, proper and natu-  
 ral, as they ought to be; and inſtead  
 of abſtaining from all appearances of  
 Evil, we ſee you court and improve  
 them on all occaſions; For do not  
 you appoint *ſet Meetings*, and make  
 great Feaſts? to which you invite  
 the Rich, that will invite you again,  
 where you drink to Drunkenneſs, and  
 eat to Gluttony, roaring all the while  
 like *mad Bulls*, and mixing your Food  
 with horrid Oaths, and vain Diſ-  
 courſes, the fear of the great Creator  
 being baniſht from your Hearts, nor  
 any pity ſhewn to us your poor Vaſ-  
 ſals, that endure the Heat of the day,  
 and are ready to fall and faint under  
 thoſe heavy Burthens laid upon us,  
 and would rejoyce to partake of the  
*Crumbs* that fall from your Tables,  
 which

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which you will not afford, & yet spend  
*our Sweat*, and the Labours of our  
Hands, in all kinds of Wantonness  
and Superfluity, by which many of  
you contract such grievous Diseases,  
both to Body and Mind, that they  
become themselves more miserable  
• then us their poor Slaves,

6. You say that the next great  
point of *Christian* Doctrine, is to free  
your selves from *Envy*, *Strife*, *Malice*,  
*Back-biting* and *Slander*; which is also  
contradicted by your general practice;  
for what is more frequent amongst  
you than *Envy* and *Revenge*? And  
though in your Prayers you formally  
use those Words, *Lord forgive us our*  
*Trespases as we forgive them that trespass*  
*against us*, yet at the same time *Envy*  
lies lurking in your Hearts, and the  
very next moment shall erect it self;  
for do not many of you keep your  
Neighbours and Brethren in loathsome  
Prisons for some very little offence,  
or in truth for none at all, but only  
to shew your Power, and gratifie  
your

your devilish Fury : And as for the Gentleman called **Strife**, he rides the Fore-horse, and is Quarter-master-General amongst you ; what Fighting, Swearing, Damning, Railing, &c. is there in every House between Fathers and Children, Brothers and Sisters, Relations and Neighbours, ready to destroy and murder one another, and all about *Things*, not worth a wise mans Thoughts ? What swarms of Lawyers, Clerks, Pettifoggers and Idle-men, does your Strife, and unjust Contention maintain ? And how many are yearly with their Families utterly ruined thereby ? *I'll not leave him worth a Groat*, cries one : *I'll make Dice of his Bones*, swears the other : *Let him rot in Goal*, says a third. This is your Christian Charity, and Remission of Injuries.

And for *Backbiting* and *Slandering*, even Eating and Drinking, is scarce more universally practised amongst you ; almost every man speaks *Evil* or slighting of those that are not present

sent, though to their Faces he Complements and Flatters them. Calumny is the Sawce at your great Feasts, and Reproaches & scandalous Stories the Entertainments of your *Clubs* and *Visits*, so that scarce any honest man is free from the Lashes of your invenom'd Tongues, or from having large Furrows plowed upon his Back, his good Name wounded, and his Reputation unjustly blasted or called in question, by your false Stories and malicious Suggestions, whereby many are daily ruined, there being nothing more base and unmanly than these *whispering Demons*; nor is there any Practice that more opposes *Christianity*, and the pure simple Law of God in Nature, and therefore is a Sin to be condemned forever, and banisht the Society of all good men.

7. Not to *judge* and *speak of things they understand not*, is a very excellent Precept, yet nothing is more common among many *Christians* than to judge, censure, and condemn Things and Persons



Persons, though they understand them no more then a blind man can distinguish Colours, or the Deaf judge of Musick; but right or wrong without any true sight or comprehension, they will pass their Verdict, and shoot their Bolts, for they count their Tongues their own, and think they may say what they list, and so call *Evil* good, and *Good* evil, and abuse their own Consciences, and their Neighbours, so greatly are many of the *Christians* depraved.

8. The eighth Point you mentioned, was, *That the Lord beholds all mens Wayes and Doings, and that unto him, and his Divine Eye there is not any thing hid:* Which without all doubt, is a most certain truth, which neither *Christian* nor *Heathen* dare to deny; for as your own Prophet saith, *It is he that searcheth the Heart, and tryeth the Reigns.* But how can we perswade our selves, that you do in truth and in earnest believe this, since we daily find that you stand more in

awe of Mens seeing, or knowing your  
Wickedness, than of God's beholding,  
and revenging of it; and therefore  
you love to seem, and be counted Ho-  
nest, and Just, and Merciful, but  
scarce a Soul of you seriously endea-  
vours to be so; 'tis the Name and the  
Credit you look after, not the Thing,  
which shews that you seek to please,  
and be well spoken of by Men, but  
regard not the righteous Judgment of  
God, who looks through the Fig-  
Leaves, and requires Truth and Pu-  
rity in the inward parts: This Hypo-  
crisie of yours is notorious, and every  
one almost taxes his Neighbour for it,  
and yet all generally practise it, and  
each hugs himself therein, as one of  
your own Poets complaineth;

*If my foul Deeds of Darknes may  
Be wrapt in Clouds as black as they;  
If being ugly I can Paint,  
And act the Devil, yet seem a Saint,  
Cheat and Oppress, Forswear and Lye,  
Yet scape the Law and Infamy,  
I mind no further Honesty.*

9. On the contrary, to *believe* and  
know (as you say) *That the Lord will*  
*Retaliate every man according to his*  
*Work*, is a most true and necessary  
Principle; but if *Christians* did so,  
surely they could not, nor would  
do as they do; For what kind of  
*Rewards* and *Returns* do or can you  
expect for all your Oppressions to us  
your poor Vassals? For do not you  
oppress us at your pleasure, *beat, whip,*  
*Fig- over-labour*, and *half-starve* us, and  
many of you scruple not to *Kill us* for  
a small Offence, and possibly for none  
at all, but in your Drunkenness to sa-  
tiate your fierce devilish Passions?  
Nor do our tender *Children*, and dear  
*Wives* escape your Violence. Now  
if Retaliation be one point of your  
Christian Doctrine, and every man  
shall be rewarded according to his  
Works, then what a *sad Reckoning*  
will you have to make, when God  
shall arise to visit for these things?  
And you would not certainly adven-  
ture upon those things, which you  
must

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must pay *so dear* for, either in this  
World, or that which is to come, if  
you were sufficiently sensible of the  
Compensation that must be made for  
the same.

10. 'Tis a noble Truth, that men  
should walk according to the *divine*  
*Principle*, and *forsake all Ungodliness*  
and *worldly Lusts*: But the generality  
of *Christians* take contrary measures  
for the Gospel of Truth, neither in-  
wardly nor outwardly doth teach  
any to *compel others* by outward Force  
to believe, and do as they do, be it  
right or wrong ; but advises all to do  
as they would be done by ; and to let  
their *Moderation be known unto all men*;  
and to *bear with one another in Love*:  
Whereas you impose upon one ano-  
ther, and *tye up* other men to your  
own Conceptions, and without any  
Compassion or Charity, fall upon such  
as will not go your way, and do as  
you do, though you have nothing to  
object against their Lives and Conver-  
sations: And whereas you acknow-  
ledge

ledge the Doctrine of *Christianity*, where-ever it is entertained in the Love thereof, will bruise the Head of the *Serpentine Nature*, that is, of Lust and Uncleanness, and all Ungodliness, yet we see you daily wallowing in all those *Pollutions*; so that you do not only contradict this *holy Doctrine*, which you boast so much of, but some of you do also severely persecute others for *obeying* the same and submitting to its guidance; And as for *brutish Uncleanness, Adulteries, Whoredoms, &c.* they are but your *Sports and Pastimes*, things that many of you *glory in*; and to be *Chaste and Modest*, is to be an object of your Scorn and Derision.

II. How well you regulate your *Passions* (which is another thing you say Christian Doctrine teaches you) all the World sees, and we often *feel*; the Sea when agitated with contrary Winds, it throws up *Dirt and Sand* from the bottom of the Deep, and spits its *froth* up towards towards Heaven,

N

ven,

ven, is not more disorderly or dangerous to come near, than you are, when the least thing happens contrary to your Minds, your Souls are in a perpetual Tumult, your Lusts duel one another, Covetousness fights with Luxury, Wantonness jostles Ambition, and Revenge is opposed by Cowardize; *Sence* gets above *Reason*, the *Man* is ridden by the *Beast*, and when in this hurry, *Conscience* gets leave to be heard, then presently there is nothing but *Furies* and *Dispair*: Is not all this as contrary to that *Calmness* and *Stillness*, that *Peace* and *Serenity of Mind* (which true Christianity, both *requires* and *gives*, and is delighted in) as Light is to Darkeness?

12. 'Tis as great point, and as true that men should not be *too resolute*, confident or conceited of their own Wisdom or Knowledge, but ought to have regard to the Lord in all their Thoughts, Imaginations and Conclusions, and to eye the divine Hand of *Providence* in all things, it being better

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better to *Fear*, than to *Boast*. But tell us, O Master! who do violate this Rule more than the generality of *Christians*? Do not many of your *learn'd Ones* boast of their Lights and Knowledge, and count all others little better than *Brutes* in comparison of themselves? And does not every one fancy his *own Opinion* to be the only Truth, and condemn the Sentiments of others, how well grounded soever they may be? And do not many endeavour to spread their Notions by *Violence*, *Fighting* and *Oppression*, and by Cruelty, to force all to be of their Complexion in Understanding? Which self-conceited Proceedings are a true *token* and *demonstration*, that they love to contradict the whole course of God and Nature; for he hath made all things to differ, and by that difference the Universe is sustained; and from those *various Notes* proceed the sweetest Harmony? Is it not for want of this Spirit of Humility, that you *wrangle*, *fight*,



*contend, punish and imprison each other, for not thinking as others do, or because they have not all one coloured Hair? For alas! men's Minds and Understandings are as different and various, as their Complexions or Vi-sages; wherefore then are you angry with your Creator, because he hath not made you all alike? If you were not blind and ignorant, and yet very presumptuous and Self-admirers, this could never be amongst People that believe all in one Prophet, and one God: I perceive therefore it is not about true Virtue that you make all this ado in the World; 'tis for your own Conceits, your own Inven-tions, your own Dreams, that you thus contend and disquiet your Neighbours.*

13. Your thirteenth Point of *Chri-stianity* was to return God the Glory of all your Enjoyments, and relie-solely upon him in your Distresses and this you observe no better than the rest; to give God the glory of  
your

your Health, Strength; Wealth, &c, is to use the same *soberly* and *discreetly*, and imploy them as he hath required, for the benefit and advantage of our fellow Creatures, and our own Happiness both here and hereafter; but you only *swagger* and *vapor* and *domineer* with them, as if your own right hand had *made them*, your own Wisdom and Power had procured them, and not as *given*, or rather *lent* you by the Lord, for the good ends before mentioned; whereas you use and bestow them only for *Pride* and *Ostentation*, for *Vanity* or *Luxury*, to accomodate your *Lusts*, or gratifie your *Revenge*; this is sure very far from a true *Christian* improvement of what you enjoy.

*Lastly*, Whereas you say, your Christian Doctrine enjoyns you to be *merciful* to all the *Inferior* Creatures, and to use them with *Compassion*, and avoid all kind of *Oppression* and *Violence* to those of your own kind: How contra y most *Christians* act hereunto, our own *woful* Experience has too

sadly informed us, that there is little  
 or no Mercy or Compassion dwells in  
 your Hearts; for on every small oc-  
 casion you will not only *beat* and *op-*  
*press* us, but some of you count it no  
 more Sin in their drunken fits to  
*Murder us*, than to kill their *Horse*,  
 or their *Dog*; but let them know,  
 we are humane *rational Souls*, and as  
 much the *Image of God* as themselves,  
 and want none of the noble Faculties,  
 therefore our *innocent Blood* will equal-  
 ly call for *Vegeance*, and as powerfully  
 as if you had killed one of the pre-  
 tended *Christians*. The Voice of  
 God in Nature is the same; and it is  
 not your custom of *Killing* will make  
 it the more *lawful* or excusable in that  
 day, when Accounts and Retaliation  
 must be made, every Principle then  
 apprehends and comprehends its own  
 Children; those that have immers'd,  
 or precipitated themselves through  
 Violence, into the fierce Anger and  
 wrathful Principle, shall be therein  
 captivated even to Eternity: It is not  
 good

good Words, long Prayers, and fair Speeches, that will break or untie the wrathful Net, which men all their Lives have been tying; but look what Principle has carried the upper Dominion in the Heart, to that Kingdom you belong.

As for the *inferior* Creatures, they groan under your Cruelties, you *hunt* them for your *Pleasure*, and *overwork* them for your *Covetousness*, and *kill* them for your *Gluttony*, and set them to fight one with another till they dye, and count it a *Sport* and a *Pleasure* to behold them *worry* one another; whereas the same should be matter of *Grief* to you, to see the Gate of Wrath thus opened amongst the Creatures, and that you your selves have been the *original Cause* thereof, by violating the Law of your Maker.

Thus, Master *Christian*! have I briefly shewed, that in all the particulars by you mentioned, the generality of you *Christians* do act the clean contrary; what then do you  
N 4 boast

boast of, and wherein are you better than we? Only that you pretend to understand more, and *do* less, and so deserve the greater Condemnation. Will you make us believe, that those men have *any Religion*, who have *no God*? or have they indeed a *God*, who prefer their *Lusts*, or *Wealth*, or *Honour*, or any thing in the World before him, and his holy Commands; Can we think that you know what it is to *believe* that there is a *God*, and a *Life* to come, and to *renounce the Flesh*, the *World*, and the *Devil*, and give up your selves to a *Saviour*, and a *Sanctifier*, when we behold you pursuing after *Vanity* with *out-stretched Arms*, and committing all kind of *Wickedness* with greediness? Can you your selves think, whilst you are awake and sober, that *Perfidiousness* will avail you, and *Rebellion* save you? or that the *God of Wisdom*, *Holiness* and *Justice*, will accept you for a *perjured Profession* to be, and to do *that* which never came into your *Hearts*?

Hearts? Is *Hypocrisie* a Virtue? Or will *Lying* and *Dissembling* bring a man to *Heaven*? Christianity (by that very Description you have given of it) is such a believing in Christ, to bring us unto God and everlasting Glory, as maketh the *Love of God* become the very Nature of the Soul, and thankful *Obedience* its Employment, and an *heavenly Mind*, and an *humble; pure, harmless and holy Life*, to be its *Constitution*, and *constant Trade*; and the Interests of fleshly Lusts, and the Poms and Vanities, the Riches and Honours of the World to be truly esteemed but as *dross* and *dung*; Now tell us in good earnest, is *this* the Life which you *live*, or which you *hate*? Why will you *profess* a Religion you *abhor*? Or why will you abhor and despise a Religion which you *profess*? Why will you glory in the part of a *Parrot*, or an *Ape*, to say over a few Words, or move your Bodies into such Forms and Ceremonies, whilst you detest the humane and  
divine

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divine part, to *know*, and *love*, and  
*live* to God? Do you profess your  
selves *Christians* only for *Self-Condem-*  
*nation*, to be Witnesses against your  
selves in Judgment, that you *wilfully*  
*lived* Unchristian Lives? What is  
there in the World that you are so  
averse to, as to *be seriously* that which  
you profess to be? That is, to walk  
uprightly and sincerely in all those  
fourteen Particulars by you enumera-  
ted. Whom do you hate more than  
those that are *that in Heart and Life*,  
which you call your selves in custo-  
mary Words? or that are *serious* in  
the Religion which you your selves  
say, You hope to be saved by. Call  
us *Heathens* as long as you will, I am  
confident *Christ* hath not more bitter  
Enemies in the World, than some of  
you that wear his *Livery*; We *Blacks*  
are more gentle to you, than you  
*Christians* are to one another; and I  
have been assured, that all the *Hea-*  
*thens* in the World have shed less  
Christian Blood, than what *Hypocrite*  
*Christians*



*Christians* themselves have greedily let out, or occasioned to be destroyed. Thus you honour *dead Saints*, and abhor the *Living*, and would gladly make more *Martyrs*, whilst you keep *Days* in Commemoration of those that *others* made. Can any thing be more preposterously absurd, more foolishly wicked, than these *interfering* Contradictions? Were it not better to be what you call your selves, or to call your selves what you are? If you approve of these Christian Doctrines, why do not you square your Conversations accordingly? If you think them *needless Notions*, why do not you disown them? Or why do you so much cry up and magnifie them? Be either *Christians* indeed, or cease to upbraid us for being *Heathens*; for such *shuffling Hypocrisie* is more abominable to God and Man, than the most ignorant *Paganism*.

*Mast.* I have given you, *Sambo*, a large liberty of Prating, and you have used it very confidently: How come you

you so *wonderous Wise*? How dare you upbraid us that have the Light of the Gospel? Or indeed why should we mind any thing such *Heathens* as you can say or talk of?

Negr. We boast not of *Wisdom*; what I have said, arises from plain *matter of Fact*, which no Person whom our Creator hath endued with a rational Soul, can be ignorant of, if he do not wilfully quench and extinguish in himself that Light which enlightneth every man that cometh into the World, and which one of your own Prophets calls, *The Candle of the Lord*. Nor are we altogether such ignorant *dark Heathens*, as you call and suppose us; for many of the *Christians* do not esteem, nor look on us any otherwise, or better than *Dogs*; for tell me, I pray *boon Master*! what difference has our Creator made between you and us? Hath he endued you with any particular Quality or Property more then we are furnisht with? The Members of our Bodies, the

the Faculties of our Minds, our *senses*  
 and all the Furniture of Nature, are  
 equal, and the same in us as in you :  
 We are not *Beasts*, as you count, and  
 use us, but *rational Souls*, and in us  
 is contained the true Nature and Pro-  
 perties of all Elements, and created  
 things ; Nor do we condemn or slight  
 the *Light of the Gospel*, as you call it,  
 but we wonder at you that so much  
 talk of it, and so little *practise* the good  
 Rules of Life contained therein. Be-  
 sides, since you are pleased to grant  
 us the Liberty to plead our own  
 Cause, we might tell you, that we  
 have the *same Gospel* that you so much  
 talk of, written in our Hearts, and  
 doing by Nature the things that are  
 written in the Law, being without  
 the Law, are a Law unto our selves,  
 as one of your illuminated Prophets  
 speaks : And if we do the things that  
 are right in the sight of God, and  
 walk in his innocent Law in Nature,  
 according to our *measure* and *under-*  
*standing*, we have so far discharged  
 our

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our Duty, and we doubt not but the  
goodness of our Creator will accept  
thereof, and pardon our *involuntary*  
*Misprisions*, and *Failings*; and if you  
have a *larger* Manifestation of the  
eternal Light and Love of God, which  
we have no reason to doubt, then  
the more is required of you, and there-  
fore the greater and more sore will  
your Condemnation be.

*Maſt.* And do you *black Heathenish*  
*Negroes* then dare compare your ſelves  
with us brave *white Chriſtians*? Does  
not your very *Hue*, that *ſooty Skin* of  
yours, ſerve for an Emblem of the  
darkneſs of your Minds? You eat all  
unclean Foods, Carrion and Vermin  
without ſcruple; you have no Order  
nor *decent Ceremonies* at your *Mar-*  
*riages*; you go *naked*, and have not  
wherewithal to cover your Shame;  
in a Word, you are in moſt particu-  
lars the very next Door to *Beaſts*, and  
therefore we have hardly ſo much  
care and eſteem for you, as we have  
for our *Horſes*, or other *Cattel*; Are  
you

you not altogether unlearned, and  
 can neither *ſpue Latine*, nor *ſputter*  
*Greek*, nor underſtand the *Hebrew*  
*Rabbins*, and the *Talmud*; your Diſ-  
 courſes are not trim'd with Flowers  
 of *Rhetorick*, nor can you *chop Logick*,  
 nor make *Syllogiſms*, and run down  
 both Truth and Senſe with *Mood* and  
*Figure*, and the *Magick* of a concluding  
*Ergo*: What Divines or Clergy-men,  
 what cunning *Lawyrs* have you to  
 boaſt of? Though you pretend to do  
*Cures*, yet you never read *Galen* nor  
*Paracelſus*, nor have any *Apothecaries*  
 to make a Trade of the *Materia Me-*  
*dica*, nor *Chymiſts* to tell you the Medi-  
 cinal Vertues of *Minerals*; you have  
 very few *Perſons of Honour* amongſt  
 you (except your Kings) and but a  
 few *Miſſes*, and no *Theaters* or *Play-*  
*houſes* for the Education of your  
 Youth; your Women are not ſo no-  
 bly arrayed, nor have thoſe charming  
*Mas*, to invite men to love and dote  
 upon them, as ours daily ſtudy; nei-  
 ther do you drink Wine in Bowls,  
 nor

nor understand the *genteel* mystery of  
 quaffing of Healths with an *Huzza*!  
 or to *Swear* Modishly with a *boon*  
*Courage*! All these things *We* enjoy,  
 and make sumptuous *Fests*, where we  
 spend as much in a few Hours, as  
 two or three Hundred of such  
 Wretches as you can earn in some  
 dayes: We have all sorts or War like  
 Weapons, and murdering Engines  
 to use at our pleasure: We eat and  
 drink of the fattest Foods, and rich-  
 est Liquors, and take our ease, and  
 clothe us in costly Attire, and study  
*new Fashions* for our Garments, to  
 render us more honourable and admi-  
 red, and many other great Priviledges  
 we have, which you are destitute of.  
 Negr. These, Sir! are *brave Things*  
 indeed to vapour with! Is it possible  
 that *rational men*, much less such illu-  
 minated *Christians*, as you account  
 your selves, should thus be taken  
 with things that are so much *below*  
 the Dignity of humane Nature, to  
 boast of your *Evils*, and glory in  
 your

your *Shame*? As for our *Complexion*; 'tis the Livery of our Creator, the property of the Climate and Soil; wherein his good Providence disposed of us to be born and bred; we made not our selves *Black*, nor do you make your selves *White*; wherein then have you any thing to brag of above us? If for this cause you despise us, you at the same time despise that *adorable Power*, which is the Maker both of us and you: And though *White* be an Emblem of *Innocence*, yet there are *whited Walls* filled within with Filth and Rottenness; what is only *outward*, will stand you in no stead, it is the *inward Candor* that our Creator is well-pleased with, and not the outward; have a care therefore that you be not found as *black within*, as we are externally.

You upbraid us with eating *unclean Foods*, Carrion, Vermine, &c. But I pray, is it not your *Cruelty*, in not affording us what is sufficient to support Nature otherwise, that makes



us do it? This is first to make us *Cripples*, and then beat us with our *Crutches* for being *Lame*. As for our poor Coverings, or going *Naked*, as long as Man remained in the innocent State, he wanted no Garments; and you are forced to *Rob* several sorts of Creatures to cover your *Shame*; nor do you bring into the World any greater *Wardrobe* with you, than we do; nor have you occasion to carry out any more. But how depraved and dishonourable does it look, for that *noble Creature*, [Man] not only to be glad to borrow of his inferior Creatures to hide his *Shame*, but also to grow *Proud* of those Ornaments, which are but the *Spoils*, or the *Labours*, and many times the *Excrements* of Beasts and Flies, or Insects, and the like lower Graduates?

As for Order in *Marriages*, we have as much as you; for though Plurality of *Wives* is contrary to your Custom, it is not to *ours*; and he is no wise man that admires or contemns

temns the various Customs of different Regions, any further than they contradict Nature: Now this Custom of *ours*, as it is be-friended with Examples amongst the antient *Patriarchs*, and the Laws of many Nations so renowned for Civility, as to esteem all others *Barbarians*, so it seems somewhat to agree with the Law of *Nature*, and to prevent Out-rages against Nature, it being not fit, nor *natural* for Men to meddle with their Wives when they are *Breeding*, or great with-child: However, these things are more of *Custom*, than any thing else, and we our selves esteem that man most *happy* that contents himself with *one Wife*: But you, although your Customs and Laws forbid *Polygamy*, and *Adultery*, yet whilst you comply somewhat in the former, do make nothing, many of you, to violate the *latter*, as often as you can meet with an opportunity.

When you say, You hardly esteem of us so well as *Beasts*; we have

Reason to believe you, from your  
 cruel Usages, and not allowing us  
 what is necessary for Food and Rest,  
 which yet is to be wondred at, since  
 if we are not worthy (forsooth!) to  
 be your *Brethren*, we are however  
 your *Money*. So that — this Cru-  
 elty towards us, doth savour more of  
*Envy*, than of *Christianity* or *Fruga-*  
*lity*. It is also true, that we have no  
*Lip-learned Doctors*, nor are confined  
 to the old musty Rules of *Aristotle* or  
*Galen*, nor acquainted with the new  
 Fancies of your modern *Fire-working*  
*Chymists*, or *Vertuosi*, nor will we  
 compare our selves to you in those  
 things; but we have so much under-  
 standing, as not to content our selves  
 to *see with other mens Eyes*, and *put out*  
*our own*, as many of your learned  
*Rabbies* do; nor want we amongst us  
 those that God and Nature have en-  
 dued with Gifts of knowing the  
*Vertues of Herbs*. and that can by ge-  
 nuine Skill, administer good *Medicines*,  
 and perform greater Cures, than your  
 famous

famous Doctors with their *hard Words* and *affected Methods*. Neither will the Art of *Chymistry* advantage us; for since God hath hid all sorts of *Meettals* in the deep Bowels of the Earth, and on the contrary adorned its *Surface* with so many noble and salutiferous *Herbs* and *Plants*, we conceive he intended the *latter*, not the *former*, both for the *Food* and *Physick* of man; And also we observe, that most who have hazarded their *Healths* and *Lives*, to get them out of these *Subterranean Caverns*, have done much hurt by the use of them in the World. Yet in our own Country we have in divers parts the best *Metals* near at hand, viz. *Gold*, which too many of the *Christians* make their *God*. Our Women, 'tis true, have no other Ornament than what is *Natural*, which is more than abundance of yours have, for they want the great Ornament of that Sex, *Modesty*; for though ours go *naked*, yet they are not so *impudent* as your *Misses*, who

make a *Trade* of Lasciviousness and Filthiness.

We drink not Wine in Bowls, nor without ; and it would be much better and more becoming *Christianity*, if you *did not* too ; for doth it not heat our Blood, irritate the central Heat, set the whole Body into an unnatural Flame, & precipitate the Mind into Fury and Madness, and excite the Senses to Uncleanliness and Beastiality ? For pray, good Master ! tell me, how many Villanies of all sorts do some nominal *Christians* commit against God, and his pure Law in Nature, by reason of their Excesses in that kind ? And what grievous *Diseases* do such Debauches occasion both present, and for the future ? Nay, to the further shame of *Christians*, have you not by lewd Examples *defiled* and *debauched* us *Ethiopeans*, and the *Indians* amongst whom you converse ? So that instead of learning us Virtue, and courting us to your Faith and Religion by *Sobriety* and *Godliness*,  
you

you set before us *destructive Presidents*, and make us more the Children of the Devil than we were before; which has forced many of your Religion to make strict Laws, that no *Christians* shall suffer *Indians* to drink strong intoxicating Liquors, or sell the same unto them; so that we must needs say in that respect, you have been kinder to us, than to your selves; for seeing the great Inconveniences and Hurt the drinking thereof does do us, you endeavour to prevent the same, and yet you continue and encrease the evil Practice thereof your selves, and so long as the *Christians* thus trade in Debauchery and Superfluity; there is no likelihood or hopes that they should draw any considerable Number of us, or the neighbouring *Indians* to embrace their Religion, though undoubtedly it is the most excellent Doctrine that ever was communicated to the World: But the vicious Lives of its Professors, their saying, and not doing, cuts off in the Bud, and wholly

ly destroys the growth and encrease of those sublim Truths, and makes the World despise both the *Christians* and their Doctrine; for it is not your good Words, and long Prayers, (and indeed some are short enough) that are pleasing to our Creator, or edifying to us; It must be your *good Works* that shall convince any of the Truth, and beget Love and Amity in all men.

But instead thereof, you spend your time in *Riot, Excess, Vanity, or wicked Plays*, whereof evil *Demons* were the Inventers, whilst we sigh and groan under your heavy Burthens. But our Cries are slighted by you, and your *Ladies* too, who many of them will *Swagger, and Curse, and Rant*, and equally oppress, and as much abuse us as your selves, which Fierceness and Cruelty looks more *monstrous* in them, though bad in both Sexes, and where-ever practised, must of a certain truth be retaliated. I have heard some of our Master *Christians* talk of, and cry out against the *Tyranny*



anny of the *Turks*, and the Slavery  
 they impose on what *Christians* they  
 can get into their Clutches at *Algier*;  
 Is it not strange that you should *Pra-*  
*tise* the very same thing your selves,  
 that you so much *Condemn* in others?  
 Nay, you do *ten times worse* than they,  
 both because you profess your selves  
*Christians*, which is a Religion of  
 Love, Sweetness and Beneficence to  
 all the Creation; and for that you  
 use us *worse* than the *Turks* do their  
 Servants; and especially in this, that  
 you rather *hinder*, than *promote* our  
 embracing the *Christian Faith*, where-  
 as amongst the *Turks* any *Christian*  
 Slave may turn *Mahumetan*, and is  
 encouraged thereunto, and thereby  
 gains his Liberty.

*Mastr.* The World is come to a fine  
 pass, that such ignorant *Slaves* and  
*Heathens* as you are, that do neither  
 know nor worship the true God,  
 should presume either to *instruct*, or  
*condemn* us. Do not you know, that  
 most of the hard usage you so much  
 complain

complain of; is occasioned by *your selves*, for if we should not be severe, and rule you with a *Rod of Iron*, you are so stubborn and disobedient, that there would be no governing of you; therefore we are forced to *beat you* into Obedience and good Manners; you are so *morose, surly and inhumane*; so that you are the first cause of those Miseries you endure: Have not you made several Attempts to *Rise*, and cut off the *Christians* Root and Branch, and make your selves Masters of all that we have? And do not such Offences require a strict Hand, and severe Punishments? What greater Crime can there be, than for you to betray your Masters?

Negr. True it is, the World is come to that pass, and mens Wickedness is arrived to that height, that good Advertisements, and wholsom Counsel, either of *Christian, Jew or Gentile*, will not be entertained, let it come from whom it will, if it tend to Vertue, be sure it shall be withstood

not with various Pretences: Where-  
you accuse us of evil Carriage, and  
at the same hath been the Original  
all our Grievs and sore Oppressions,  
there is a certain Truth therein, tho'  
as you intend it, for if we and  
our Fore-fathers had not violated the  
innocent Law of Nature by Violence  
and Transgression, we had never  
been under your Yoke, nor been car-  
ried away Captives out of our own  
Native Country; but now we have  
by the divine Justice been retaliated,  
for ours, and our Princes Transgres-  
sions; However, though we acknow-  
ledge this is but just from God, yet  
that doth not concern you, nor can  
you from thence justify your Op-  
pressions, which could not be occasi-  
oned by the Miscarriages you speak  
of, because they had long been pra-  
ctised upon us, before any of us made  
any of those ill Attempts you men-  
tion; 'twas your Cruelties put us up-  
on those extrayagant courses: And  
since Oppression (according to the  
Doctrine

Doctrine of your most holy wife Prophet) *makes Wise Men mad*, 'twas no wonder if some of our silly Country men were thereby so far transported as to seek by unjustifiable means, to gain their Liberty, or a Melioration of their wretched condition.

Besides, if we had indeed offended you, yet you ought not to retaliate *Evil for Evil*, since on the contrary your Christian Doctrine enjoyns you to return *Good for Evil*, & to love even *your Enemies*; how dare you then in the Light of this holy and everlasting Gospel, to talk and act after this manner? Do you indeed dream that your Cruelty, and ruling us with a *martial Rod*, and *barbarous Fierceness*, will make us *Tractable and Friendly*, or to love our Masters, and do our Labours with willingness? Alas! we imagined you to be greater Seers into the Mysteries of God, and his Law in Nature, than to entertain such vain and impossible Conceits; For how contrary is this not only to your Christian

Christian Principles, but also to Reason,  
 and the common Sense and  
 Experience of all mankind? *With the*  
*turned toward thou shalt learn Forwardness,*  
*s, with your own Prophet.* And again,  
*ation did ever the Wrath of Man accomplish*  
*the Righteousness of God? Or Tyranny*  
*underget Love?* If those who have the  
 Government of generous Horses, or go  
 about to tame wild Beasts, and endea-  
 your by gentle Usage to make them  
 tractable, and fit for Service, rather  
 than by Cruelty and Beating; much  
 more those who have the command  
 of Men, should bring them to Order  
 and Discipline by the mildest and fair-  
 est means, and all the Arts of Sweet-  
 ness and Perswasion; not treating  
 them worse than Gardiners do those  
 wild Plants, which by careful looking  
 to, and good Usage, lose the Savage-  
 ness of their Nature, and in a little  
 time come to bear excellent Fruit.

In vain therefore you go about to  
 excuse your Tyranny and Oppression  
 towards us, by making the World  
 believe

believe, that you are as it were constrained, or forced to be cruel to us. Though yet the same be true in our Sense, *viz.* you are irritated thereby unto from you own innate awakened *Wrath*, which does predominate in your Hearts and Souls, and that those fierce Arrows of *Mars*, and Poysons of *Saturn*, which you let fly at us, do by simily stir up the original Venoms, and wrathful Qualities in us: And this, and this only, is that hath occasioned some of those *warfer sort* of our Country-men now Curse you and your Posterity, and endeavour to kill and destroy you, which is a *crying Sin*, which we neither justify, nor can excuse, since 'tis condemned by God, and his Law, and Nature; And all that have attempted such savage Mischiefs, ought not to go unpunisht, neither will they; for the just Law of Retaliation will take hold of them; but will you therefore punish the Innocent for, or with the *Guilty*? because some called *Christians* comm

commit Murders and Treasons, must  
 to all of that Profession be cut off by the  
 on Ax, or the Gibbet? If you will deal  
 then ingenuously, your own Hearts will  
 kenetell you, that the occasion of these  
 Evils committed, or endeavoured to  
 have been committed; arise from  
 your Sins, and the great Abuses  
 et wherewith you have from time to  
 time afflicted us, viz. your Mur-  
 dering us at your pleasure, and no  
 is Account, or just Compensation ren-  
 dered for the same: Therefore does  
 your innocent Blood call for Venge-  
 dance on you, and (without serious  
 your Repentance and Amendment) must  
 be reckoned for. Consider well these  
 things, and then tell us; Do you  
 think, or can you in Reason, but ex-  
 pect, that the great Tyranny, In-  
 justice, and cruel Usages you have  
 practised upon us, will in due time  
 be brought back upon you and your  
 and or Posterity, if you do not  
 atone for these Evils, and give us  
 Ease and Refreshment? And though



we are never so submissive, cannot the kindled Wrath raise up other Enemies to destroy you and yours in a Moment? Therefore be intreated to bethink your selves in time, for undoubtedly the Cup of Wrath is almost full.

*Mast.* I have considered what you alledge, touching the severe Usage, which we have; and do daily offer to your Country-men; & I must confess, I cannot well see how the same can be reconciled to the Doctrine of our holy and harmly Christian Religion: But alas! What would you have us do? If we should *leave off* these Practices, how should we *live at the Rate* we do? fill our Tables daily with variety of costly Dishes, and swill our selves and numerous Visitants with *rich Wines*, and other strong Liquors: How should we maintain our Grandure, and our Pomp, and raise great *Estates* for our selves and Children, and leave our Posterity great, and rich, and honourable in the World?

We

We consider not your Labour, Weariness, Disorders, Sickness, Hunger, Drought, want of due Rest, or convenient Food, nor any the like Hardships that you suffer: If we can but live in State and Abundance, and make vast Quantities of *Sugar*, or other Commodities yearly, which is our chief delight, and the highest good we desire; and he that does thus do, how hard soever he uses his Slaves, is counted a *brave Husband*, and a *good Christian* too, a very notable man, fit for others to make Examples by, and imitate his prudent Conduct.

Negr. But all this time you look not into the *Radix*, nor consider the lamentable Oppressions and Violences that cleave fast to this your *good Husbandry* (as you call it) that your Houses are cemented with *Blood*, and all your *Dainties* and your *Riches* accompanied with the dolorous Complaints, Sighs and Groans of your poor Vassals, which are continu-

P

ally

ally sent up to Heaven against you.

*Maſt.* No, no; we expel all ſuch Melancholly Thoughts with a plentiful *Glaſs of Wine*, Jovial Company, or other ſenſual Diverſions.

*Negr.* Thoſe Arts you uſe to lay your *Reason* and *Conſciences* to ſleep, will in the end both *haſten* and *aggravate* that Vengeance which muſt neceſſarily follow all Injuſtice and Oppreſſion. As for maintaining *Pride*, *Superfluity*, and other Evils of that nature, I am of your mind, that they cannot be ſupplied without Oppreſſion and Violence; for all *Extreams* beget their Likeneſſes: But ſure you *Chriſtians* above all others, ought not to regard ſuch *Vanities*, but relinquish and deteſt all *Superfluity*, *Pride*, *Gluttony*, and other the like Intemperances, ſince they are ſo diametrically oppoſite to your Profeſſion and Religion. Beſides, you abuſe your ſelves and Poſterity, by thinking to raiſe great *Eſtates*, or derive any laſt-

ing Temporal Happiness to you or them, by over-charging us with labour; For does not Reason and Experience let you know, that Houses built with *mouldering Stone* and *rotten Timber*, will not long continue; and that Estates heap'd together by Violence, carry along with them a *Curse* and are blasted from the *Radix*, so that at most they seldom descend to the *third Heir*, and rarely out-live the first or second Generation? What are become of all the Glories of the *Nimrods*, and the *Cæsars*, and the *Alexanders*? of all the mighty *Tyrants*, and spreading Monarchies of the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, *Persians*, *Macedonians* and *Romans*? Are they not all long since crusht to pieces by one another, because their Foundations were laid in Violence and Spoil, Injustice and Oppressions? The *Spaniards*, who baptized the *New World* in Blood, murdered many *Hundred Thousand Indians*, on pretence of propagating the Christian Religion, when in truth

it was only to get *Gold and Empire*;  
 Have they not met with Retaliation?  
 Have they not decreased in Power  
*ever since* those Cruelties, and instead  
 of grasping an *universal Monarchy*,  
 (which their Ambition promised  
 themselves) are now scarce able to  
 defend their own antient Patrimony,  
 or keep off an Enemy from the Fron-  
 tiers of *Castile*? If all these *mighty*  
*Men of War* have *Shipwrack*, by *steer-*  
*ing this Course*, how hope you with  
 your petty *Pinnaces*, and tottering  
*Skiffs*, to avoid the like Tempests?  
 If just Vengeance hath overturned  
 whole Empires and Kings, that cal-  
 led themselves *Invincible*, for their  
 Cruelties and Oppressions, how shall  
 your *private Fortunes* be establisht,  
 that have no other Foundation but  
 the like Violence and Injustice?

On the other side, I pray observe,  
 there are many *honest, compassionate,*  
 and truly *Christian-spirited Men*  
 amongst you, that do not willingly  
 oppress either Man or Beast, and yet  
 you

you see how they are blest, and prosper, and enjoy more true Content and Happiness in one Week, than you whose Minds are continually distracted with greedy Desires, or anxious Fears, do in all your Lives; Nor are any of your Estates so firmly establish'd, as those whose Possessors use Mercy and Gentleness in all their Doings; for Vertue and Well-doing will as naturally attract the Influences, and favour both of God and Man, and of the *Cælestials*, as well as inferior Creatures, as a *Load-stone* does *Iron*: And whosoever endeavours sincerely to live according to the innocent Law of God in Nature, shall be filled with good things, but those that study to grow rich by Wickedness and Oppression, shall be sent *empty away*, and both their Estates and their Hopes be scattered like *Leaves* before the Wind.

Nor is your Practice herein less Impudent than Ungodly, all Wickedness being indeed the height of Folly,

and Piety and Vertue evermore the best Policy. For why should you oppress us, by whose Labours you are sustained? And our Ill is your Loss, are we not your Money? And what a small matter more than you allow us, might plentifully supply us? As suppose such Masters as have Fifty, a Hundred or two Hundred Negroes, if they would add to our Allowance, Fifty, or one Hundred, or two Hundred Pounds *per annum*, it might maintain us in lively Strength, and sufficient Vigour to go through with our Labour with cheerful Spirits, and brisk Dispositions; then should our Souls (instead of *Cursing*, and calling for Vengeance upon you) *Bless* you, and serve you cordially and willingly, with all our Power. For those that are wise amongst us, matter not their Freedom so much, provided they might but be admitted such necessary Supports, Priviledges and Accommodations, as our bountiful Creator by his Hand-



Hand-maid, *Nature*, has plentifully provided for all his Creatures, and especially for the race of Men: And then would you have Peace in your own Houses and Spirits, whereas now you are always filled with Contention, Anger, Strife, Jealousie or Suspitions; nor need you ever then fear our *Rising* up against you, to cut you off, or any other Invasion; for nothing does so much disarm the Rage of the fierce Wrath, as Well-doing and Innocency; these being the surest Bulwarks both against inward and outward Enemies.

*Mastr.* I cannot deny the Truth of what you have said, nor know I how to make any further *Objections*, therefore I think it will more become us to *amend* our Practices, than to study Arguments to *cloak* or *defend* them.

*Negr.* I am over-joy'd, good Master, to hear these Words from your Mouth; they sound well in our Ears, and make most pleasant Musick; nor will you, I dare promise

you, ever have cause to Repent of  
 these merciful Resolutions, for the  
 only way for you to have good Ser-  
 vants, is for you first to be good Ma-  
 sters; and though some of our Coun-  
 try-men are *untractable, sullen, morose,*  
*cruel and revengeful* (more especially  
 by reason of the Oppressions before-  
 mentioned) so others of them have  
 notwithstanding given you strong  
 Motives to believe their Integrity and  
 faithful Honesty towards their Ma-  
 sters, and *Christians* in general, for  
 many of us at several times, and on  
 sundry occasions, have given most  
 clear and demonstrative Testimonies  
 of our Faithfulness, in discovering  
 several *horrid Plots and Conspiracies*,  
 which some of the worst of us had  
 designed against our Masters; And  
 how little do many of us value our  
 dear *Lives*, to save our *Masters*?  
 And how ready are we to go, run,  
 work, watch and defend our Ma-  
 sters. and to preserve their Rights?  
 So that many of our Christian Ma-  
 sters

ers have been heard to say, *That*  
*they would as soon, and willingly*  
*trust their Lives with some of their Ne-*  
*gro Slaves, as with the most trusty*  
*Christian Servants they had.* And I  
 doubt not, but if our Masters deal  
 justly, and with tenderness preserve  
 us, by allowing us such suitable Food,  
 Drinks and Rest as are needful for  
 the support of our Lives and Health,  
 and suitable to the Climate, we  
 should *all in general* become more  
 tractable, obedient and diligent, and  
 thereby not only perform our Labour  
 much better, but secretly attract the  
 sweet Influences of God and Nature  
 on their Heads, and then twenty of  
 us would dispatch as much Work  
 and Business as thirty do; or can do,  
 that have neither Food that is proper,  
 either in Quantity or Quality, nor  
*due Rest*, for want of which, the  
 whole frame of the Body, and all  
 the Members grow heavy, dull, weak  
 and heartless, and the Mind indispo-  
 sed and averse from, as well as un-  
 able

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able for Work or Business, which  
can never go on well, and to satis-  
faction, where the chief motive is  
*Whip and Spur*, Fear on the one side,  
and Cruelty on the other.

Besides, if we and our *Wives* were  
kept in good Heart, we should be  
able to get not only *more strong and*  
*healthy Children*, but *more in Number*,  
which would supply your Business  
far better, than for you every Year to  
be at that great Charge of buying  
such Numbers of *new Negroes*, of  
whom many fail, and many dye upon  
the change of Climate; For by rea-  
son of the Hardships used to us, and  
especially the Cruelties towards our  
Women, during their Pregnancy,  
they so often *Miscarry*, that we upon  
the Island cannot keep our Number,  
but decrease so fast, that you are  
forced every Year (at vast charge) to  
fetch about *ten Thousand* (as I have  
heard) new Ones; whereas there is  
no doubt to be made, but if we were  
conveniently supplied with Food and  
competent

competent Rest, and some due Re-  
 spect or Commiseration had to our  
*Wives when they are big*, then every of  
 our Masters Families would so en-  
 crease by his *own Bread*, that there  
 would be no more occasion for buy-  
 ing of new Ones, which would won-  
 derfully enrich you; so that if either  
 you regard the Rules of your *Holy*  
*Religion*, and will not justly be bran-  
 ded for *Hypocrites* or *Atheists*; If you  
 have any respect to *Humanity*, com-  
 mon *Honesty*, and that universal prin-  
 ciple (but almost universally neg-  
 lected) *to do as you would be done by*;  
 or lastly, if you would avoid *divine*  
*Vengeance*, in Retaliation for your  
 Oppressions, and would justly en-  
 crease your Estates by such ways, as  
 they may be a comfort to your selves,  
 and continue to your Posterity: If  
 all or any of these thing, I say, have  
 any weight with you, then speedily  
 leave off your Severities, and let your  
 usage of us be such as is fit for *Men* to  
 practise towards *Men*, let us see the  
 excellency

excellency of the Christian Religion, by the goodness of your *Lives* that profess it, by your Meekness, and Charity, and Benignity, and Compassion towards your fellow Creatures, especially those of the same Species with your selves, and who have no less rational and *immortal Souls* than the best of you: If these things you do, we and our Posterity shall *willingly serve you*, and not count it any *Slavery*, but our unspeakable Happiness; *Peace* shall be in your Dwellings, and *safety* shall surround your Island, for Innocency is a better defence than Forts and Citadels, than Armies and Fleets, than *Walls of Brass*, flankt with *Towers of Adamant*: In a word, you shall have Satisfaction *within*, and Security *without*, and enjoy the Blessings both of *Time* and *Eternity*. But if neither the Voice of *Religion*, nor *Nature*, can be heard; If neither *Humanity* nor *Self-interest* can prevail with you, be assured, that although you are wilfully *Deaf*, our great

Great Creator will be ready to *hear*  
 our Cries; and you must certainly  
 one day make Retaliation to the ut-  
 termost Farthing.

*Maſt. Sambo!* I have hearkened  
 attentively, and well conſidered  
 your Diſcourſe, which carries with  
 it ſuch Evidence and Reaſon, that I  
 muſt acknowledge I am convinced  
 that our former Conduct towards  
 you, has not been agreeable to our  
 Religion, or common Equity; there-  
 fore for my own part, you ſhall ſee  
 by *future Uſage*, what *Impreſſion*  
 your Words have made upon me,  
 nor ſhall I be wanting to acquaint  
 others with what you have offered—  
 It grows late, therefore you were beſt  
 be gone, and betake your ſelf to  
*Reſt.*

*Negr. Boon Maſter,* I return  
 you a thouſand of *Thanks* for  
 the freedom you have given me of  
 ſpeaking to you: And I am over-  
 joyed to hear, that you have thereby  
 received



received some *Satisfaction*; I shall  
now return to my fellow Servants;  
and as I have used some Arguments  
to you to be kind to them, so I shall  
on all occasions press them with Ar-  
guments to be obedient, humble, just  
and respectful to all their Masters.

*Ma<sup>r</sup>*. Therein honest *Sambo*!  
you will do very well, and so good  
Night to you.

*Negr.* Good Night, my good  
dear Master!

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